BOOK III

Page.	Para.	
62	1	(1) Confirmed by Wilks, 3, 459. It is fully three years later than the date given Kirmani. See Book II. 10-13, Kirkpatrick P. 217, 218, says Tippoo was born AH.1165 AD.1751-2 ' the 14th of Tulooey, AH 1165' according to Tippoo''s new fashion of dates. The English reader should observe that "Sultan" is here a proper name: Hyder named his son after a certain fakeer or saint and several fakeers bear the names Shah Padshah or Sultan.
		(2) The Kartar is merely styled "The Raja" a word equally applicable to Nanda Raja. In the English translation the difference is made clearer that it is in the original.
63	2	(3) Here again is an instance of Hyder's decease being passed over unnoticed. Silence so universal on a matter so interesting to all, must have been caused by commands which none dared disobey.
	4	(1) At this time there was a severe famine in Madras, 30th September 1782, The streets of Black Town and the roads were covered with dead bodies. Stuart's Appendix No. 2 & 4.
		* See Wilks 2. 317. Tippoo was employed by Hyder in besieging this place: which the English had garrisoned. The siege began on 16th Jan. 1781.
	5	(2) Kirmanis Life of Tippoo, page 8.
		* See a different statement in Wilsk 2, 453, 418. 189 - see the well known in Steward Tippoo's Library page 57.) He was a very able man. Hyder had a t first appointed him to command (Chittle) droog (see Book 2 para 70 But on the death of Ram Raj who commanded (Bednore) Nagar he was appointed by Hyder to rule both the troops and the districts of Bednore.
64	7	(3) Regarding the betrayal and fall of Nagar Bednore on 25th Feb. 1783, See Wilks 2, 448.
	8	(4) The careless-ness of style is here remarkable. The writer uses Nagar in one paragraph for Bednore and in the next for a different town. The word merely means city, or town.
	9	(5) This story is more clearly told in Kirmani.
65	11	(6) Tippoo took Bednore 9th April 1783. See Wilks, Mill, 4, 268, Wilks, 2, 462, Forbes' Oriental Memoirs 2nd Edition 1834 Vol. 2. p. 457.

Page	Para		
65	12	(1)	Not all; for Major Genl. Bowser, at that time an Ensign, was confined in a small cell in the gate of which he was fond of shewing when he subsequently ruled the place.
		(2)	See the story in Beatson CIV; note about Baird at Seringapatam.
		(3)	This may well be doubted.
66	18	(4)	See Wilk, 11, 438 500
		(5)	See details in Wilks, 2, 428: he gives a clear account.
67	21	(6)	This anecdote is no where else mentioned. By a similar superstition, detested by the better classes of Hindus and Musulmans, the corpse of Tippoo was found furnished with AMULETS. See Beatson's -- Appendix page CI (101) "Tippoo's Taweez of talisman was fastened under the jacket on the right arm. Also page CIII.
	22	(7)	Mangalore was commanded by Col. Campbell (Wilks, 2, 465.)
67	23	(1)	On 20th June 1783 the French at Pondicherry learnt that the war in Europe had terminated in the peace of January 1783. On 20th July the news reached Mangalore.
68		(2)	Mahi the port between Tellicherry and Calicut.
	24	(3)	This "former ruler" was Rustum Ali Begh Wilks, 2,481 484. The "Commandant" was named Mohammad Ali Shaji (vol.2, page 484)
		(4)	Wilks says the commandent was not put to death till afterwards.
		(5)	The phrase ASSUED ILLAHEE CORPS is used in Wilks, 2,559,531. A learned Musulman of Seringapatam informs me that the word merely denote Converts. It is one of many phrases coined by Tippoo who had a fancy to alter the usual appellations of things. See instance in Beatsons "War with Tippoo" 1799 Appendix page VII note. In the Asiatic Annual Register 1799 (supplement page 170, 171) in a letter from Tippoo he even gives in Asi: Annual Register 1799 page 319 where Asadulai are rendered Chelas: and Ahmadis are Christians from the Carnatic: while Mohammadies are Chelas from Coorg. But Asadulai in the pages of Punganuri seems to mean 'SIRCARI' APPERTAINING to Government. See proof of ihis in Moor's account of Little's campaign, page 567 and Wilks, 2,531.
	25	(6)	See the 5th Report page 101, state of the Jaghire.
69		(7)	These were sixty five thousand Syrian: Christians Wilks, 2, 495 and 529.

Page	Para		
69	25	(8)	Of the Farangi Mazhab i.e. Christians.
	26	(9)	See Wellingtons Despatches, dated 10th September 1799. regarding "Ey Goor".
	27	(10)	Wilks 2,532. Dated 1785.
		(11)	The Musulmanns have a story that Tippoo was bent upon circumcising the men of Coorg because in defiance of his attack they danced naked on the walls of their forts. Several other fables regarding Hyder and Tippoo are current and deserve no notice.
		(12)	Tippoo called Mercara by the new name Zafrabad. See Kirmani 2,69.
70	28	(1)	In Kirk 264 the names of the Messengers to Constantinople are given. They are Gholam Ali Khan, Lutfali Khan, Shah Noor Ullah Khan and Mohammad Hanif.
		(2)	This name is evidently a mistake--I find no mention of this embassy in Wilks. For Meccan we should read constantinople.
		(3)	They were bearers of message to Meer Kasim Daroga of Muscat. Possibly this name is meant Kirkp. 282, 300; or it is Rum Sham ka Badshah.
71	33	(4)	'Nergund' as written in Kirkp.p.21,27,29,36, 41,42,49,51,56,62,71,72,80,81.
		(5)	Calappa-whom Tippoo calls Kala Pandit-- Kirkp.p.67,89,114,132,133,157,161,162 and Wilks, p. 538 of vol.2.
		(6)	Kirkpatricks Letters of Tippoo Sultan begin at this year in A.D. 1785 (17th February) and the latest letter is dated 14th February 1787.
72	36	(1)	Siege of Adhoni. See Wilks 2,547 and 548 Local Records Vol. 2 p. 73 and 76.
		(2)	See Kirkp. p. 16 Moh. Othman Khan and Moh. Darwesh & c. Wilks 539 says that the troops under Qamr ud Din were sent on this enterprize.
	37	(3)	Tahavvar Jang is the name--See Wilks Vol.2 page 556.
		(4)	See Kirkp. pages 323,324.
	38	(5)	This is, Tippoo henceforth styled himself king. This was possibly intended: by Tippoo but we do not find that he was subsequently denominated Badshah See Wilks 2. 549 and 545.
73		(6)	See Kirkp. p. 330, date 27th June 1786, also pages 388 and 426 date 1st October 1786 (note 22, p. 429)

Page	Para		
73	39	(7)	The author was probably absent from this affair: which he so briefly mentions. Wilks gives minute details. Vol.2 p. 552.
		(8)	Divas ugvila i.e. day broke (Wilks 2,551)
	40	(9)	In his letters Tippoo expresses great scorn of the English for making a night attack Here he makes one himself see Kirkp.
		(10)	Wilks p. 556.
		(11)	Bahadur Bandar is near Muctul a town north of the Krishna-W. Long. 76 13" and N.Lat 15, 18".
	41	(12)	Wilks 557, 559 says out of this sum 15 lacks were deducted to recover damages of war. Thirty lacks were actually paid.
		(13)	Wilks 558.
		(14)	Wilks 2,559
		(15)	Here insert the English Diary printed in Kirk. 486, 490.
		(16)	Wilks 2, 559.
		(17)	These names are so written that they may be read Natger or Narger, and Bodan-halli.
		(18)	In the original this para is obscure.
74	42	(19)	Wilks 2,560, 561.
	43	(1)	Kirkp. p. 84 Chishtyar Khan.
		(2)	Doubtful Lochun-gods.
	44	(3)	Manzar-abad in Kirmani-who says Mercara was named Zaffar-abad.
	45	(4)	At this time (Kirk. 466.7) a holy shirt of the prophets was discovered at Cuddapah and lodged with other relics at Seringapatam. At the time (Duff 3,38) the Maratas wished to enter into a league with the English but Cornwallis declined it.
		(5)	Here enter Bartolomeo page 141-142.
75	46	(6)	It appears from Kirkpatrics Letters of Tippoo, date 14th December 1788, that on taking "Farkhi" (Calicut) Tippoo ordered five hundred of the inhabitants to be hanged.
		(7)	Farokhi is certainly an error but the correct name is not known.
		(8)	"Husen Ali Khan" as shewn in the said letter from Tippoo-Tippoo ordered the dead as well as the living to be circumcised. Ibid Kirkp. p. 150 (As Ann Reg. XII. 386)

Page	Para		
75	46	(9)	Stuart, Appx III page V says that the joint army of the French and the Mysoreans was headed by Tippoo and Brigadier General De Haufisse.
		(10)	In December 1786 (Kirk 455) Tippoo had ordered his ambassador to Paris to send him a physician a surgeon and an apothecary.
	49	(11)	At this period the Nizam ceded to the English the district Guntoor.
76	50	(1)	The numbers in Wilks 3. 40 are not so large "Regular infantry 20,000; effecient spearman and matchlock men 10,000; horse 5000; field guns 20"
	52	(2)	In Tippoos letters there is one dated 31st. December 1788; wherein he orders all the Mapillas that are caught to be hanged: regardless of their being musulmans.
		(3)	At this period (Duff 3.40) the Nizam timidly sought the friendship of the English and with his usual duplicity at the same time requested the friendship of Tippoo. Tippoo expressed his willingness to consent on condition of an intermarriage of their families: but the Mogul haughtily rejected such a connection and the negociation dropped.
77	53	(4)	Kirkpatrick, page. 208 where Tippoo speaks this Warm Raj' and These names Kirkp. passes as unknown to him.
	54	(5)	Wilks3, 22 gives a different account. Tippoo's own story is in Kirkp: p. 203.
		(6)	Probably should be written 'Palasa' i.e. the tree Butea frondosa: hence the name 'Plassey'
		(7)	Wilks, 3,46 Says Two Cushoons of regular infantry.
		(8)	Wilks 3,23.
	55	(9)	Canara-Wilks 3,23 says Cannanore.
		(10)	Meant for Cannanore where Balia Bee was celebrated. Wilks 3,23.
		(11)	More blunders in names. Khalic saheb should be Abdul Khaliq Wilks 3,23, and Aliya Be should be Balya Bibi.
78		(12)	The Musulmans have a tradition that he circumcised the Nairs because in defiance of him the exhibited themselves naked on the batteries.
	56	(13)	The word 'Dewal' pagoda is not in the original; a blank is left for some word and probably pagoda is meant.

Page	Para		
78	56	(14)	Here is a blank in the original.
		(15)	Wilks 2,26 who says "Hafiz Ferred ud Deen Khan".
		(1)	Harcara Daroga i.e. head man of the spy or messenger department.
	57	(2)	Wilks knows nothing of this plot.
		(3)	Sheomooga is a part of Nagar or Bednoor.
		(4)	One of these was a poor Soldier named Scurry whose volume gives a sad picture of misery.
	58	(5)	The Tebela are the pagah or household cavalry. The Silledar are the feudal cavalry. The Silledar are the feudal cavalry who provide their own horses.
		(6)	Wilks 3,40 calls it Anek maleh i.e. elephant hill-Aneh cal. is elephant rock. The names are one.
79		(7)	See Wilks vol. 3 page 40.
		(8)	Chaurang marna tying the four feet of a goat together and then cutting it in halves at one blow of a sword. At this place Wilks III. 40 is in error, HIRAN means in Sanscrit a deer and also an elephant and Wilks wrongly gives the latter meaning.
	59	(9)	Tiraskera- apparently the place which on the map is called Trichoovaperoor a little north-east of Cranganoor.
	60	(10)	Here enter Tippoo's letter dated 31st January 1790 ordering all the Nairs to be circumcised Asiat Ann Reg XII. 396.
	61	(11)	This is a confused account enough: the author being a servant of Tippo was unwilling to describe his defeat: which is clearly told in Wilks 3, 46-48.
		(12)	Wilks 3,48 says this happened at Travancore But Punganuri says it was at Nidimicota.
		(13)	He arrived at his DEORI. Is this an error for DERA, a camp? Déori would mean a gate The place where the camp was is not named.
80		(14)	Tera Janeh paran gum zhaley; aurdo teen hazar log garot hooe.
	62	(15)	On all sides of what fort? It seems to be Nidimicota. See Wilks 3, 49 gives the details of the interview with the emperor and the minister.
		(1)	Puncha rasi i.e Bell metal. The number 200 may more veraciously be twenty.

Page	Para		
80	64	(2)	This embassy to the Emperor of Constantinople (Room) is mentioned in Wilks 3.51) Wilks say Tippoo sent the second embassy in 1785 and the meassengers returned in 1790.
		(3)	Unmentioned by Wilks.
81		(4)	These Arabic words denote, "The royal Tippoo Sultan, the shadow of the most gracious God; Defender of the faith! may God ever bless with prosperity his land and realm".
	65	(5)	Probably fourteen French Officers.
		(6)	See the story as related by Bertrand de Moleville, Private Memoirs Vol. 2, p. 36.
		(7)	At this time, June 1790 (Duff 3,43) the Mahrattas (Nana Farnavis) proposed through M. Malet a treaty of alliance which Lord Cornwallis ratified. The first (ib.45) campaign against Tippoo in this war commenced on 26th May 1790: and terminated 27th January 1791-General & c., here enter also, page 47 Hostilities.
	66	(8)	Here notice Scurry's History. It is not worse than the stories of Algiers in Conder's Voyages XX 317. Regarding the embassy to France in 1797 see Beatson Appx No. X.

MEMOIRS OF TIPPOO.

BOOK IV.

Page	Para		
83	1	(1)	Colnel Floyd was the Officer commanding but the name here given his unintelligible: and is perhaps Medows.
	2	(2)	See Wilks 3.82,33. This is the battle of Satya mangalum. Thornton 2.409. Date 12th September 1720 he does not name Kaeet.
		(3)	A western branch of the river Caveri.
		(4)	This passage is very obscurely worded.
		(5)	Ghazi khan and Maddu khan were in Tippoos employ: each is asserted to have commanded a host of Pindari cavalry.
	3	(6)	As written in the Mahratta character the name may be read Menzies or Mendruss. See Wilks 3. 89.
		(7)	See Wilks 3.89. This chief was a kinsman of Tippoo.
		(8)	Wilks 3.94 Date in October 1790.
84	4	(9)	There is no mention in Wilks nor in Kermani of an occurrence so strange if true.
	5	(1)	General Medow began his march from the Cavery on 10th November 1790. See Wilks III. 99.
		(2)	This is confirmed by Wilks III. 98.
85	7	(3)	Wilks III. 99. he writes Tapoor for Topoor, These occurrences at the river are but briefly noticed in Kirmani.
		(4)	Whenever Tippoo is defeated this historian's style becomes obscure: like that of Hazlitt and Theirs when truth forces them to acknowledge Napoleon defeated.
	9	(5)	Wilks 3.122.
86	10	(6)	That is, the choultry or lodge where the ceremonies are held on the anniversary of the Sivaratry, feast-"Maha-navami"
86	11	(7)	This was the party sent out to cover the Engineers in reconnoitring the country. See Sir Thomas Munro's Life Vol.I. page 114.
		(8)	Date 21st March 1791 Wilks III. 127-131.
		(9)	This passage is not clearly worded-Indeed the whole paragraph is obscuro.

Page Para.

86 11 (10) Jeysh Cchehri may mean the treasury.

12 (11) Wilks III. 183 date 27th March 1792.

(21) The following is translated from a Canarese statement found in volume 742--"In former days the Nawab Bahadar had conquered Chitradurgam: A man named Nadiga Laxmanna of Kallibettu and his son had given much aid to Tippoo: wherefore Tippoo bestowed on them honorary dresses and gave them a written warrant, bestowing on Laxmanna all the powder, ball and other military stores belonging to Santa Bennur which had been carried away by the Chitradurga garrison: he also gave this man three great guns on carriages which were brought from Bilizodu: these were placed in the 'batteries' of Santah Bennur. This (Laxmanna) ruled (Santa Bennur) for seven years from Paridhavi (1714 i e A.D. 1792) to Kalayucti 1720 (A.D. 1798).

13 (22) The original is so loosely worded that it may be Tippoo's own family: It seems that he DID send his own family to Chittledroog.

(23) Wilks III. 139.

(24) The passage is not clear. Probably this bridge was destroyed because had the English invaded the town it might have given them a road.

(25) Ghair wajibi panchayat Karoon. Equivalent to a drum head court martial.

14 (26) Here the word THREE shows a mistake in the original Mahratta Manuscript: where he says, "he summoned the treasurer Bhujung Rao and brothers Kishen Rao and Ram Rao junior and hanged all three.

16 (27) Wilks III. 142.

88 (28) Bache Rao, subsequently chief revenue superintendent of Cudapah where I was acquainted with him in 1820-1826 Wilks speaks of him but does not mention this story.

(29) Here written Ramaya: but it is probable that the aforementioned Ram Rao is intended.

(30) Such wholesale slaughters of friends and connections remind us of the behaviour of Caracalla at Rome--Gibbon in A.D. 212 and 213. Elliott's Horee Apocalypticoe Vol. i. p. 169.

(31) Wilks III. 134-135 date 11th April 1791.

18 (32) Regarding year virodhicrit see Telugu account in M.S. vol page 63.

(33) "Darya-i-dowlat" is the name of the country house or garden in the island, outside the walls. The great palace is within.

(34) Assdulahi seems to be Tippoo's phrase for picked troops, kept as his body guard(Ahmadi)

Page Para

88 (35) In the Mahratta manuscript the writer seems to have written 60,000 and then to have blotted out one cypher.

19. (36) Arikera See Wilks III. 145 date May 1791.

(37) Wilks III 217: date 5 February 1792.

(38) Lallys troops, meaning the French Auxiliaries.

21 (39) This date is stated in Hindu phrases but with a Musulman reckoning.

(40) Naick is strictly a subaltern but that word would not give the true sense.

22 (41) 'ghor-top' horse artillery 13 pieces, See Wilks 3 157.

23 (42) This occurrence is omitted in Thornton II 458 but merited notice being a compliment profered and refused.

24 (43) This passage is so oddly worded that the meaning is obscure.

(44) The name looks like Lonmani but more probably Nelamane.

26 (45) The author here uses his favourite obscurity and it is not clear whom he means. See Thornton Vol. II 456. Duff III 60.

(46) Hafiz jee. This name properly is (Wilks 3 260) Hafiz Farid ud Din Khan. Here it was written Darodi Khan.

(47) This seems to meant for Bandar, a sea Port.

91 27 (48) Here enter (Duff 3. 60) Captain Littles heroic victory 29 December 1791 at Gajnur; Moor's Little p. 159.

28 (49) The name meant is Chalmers. (Wilks III 234) In the Mahratta it is written Saumbar.

30 (50) Wilks III 228 7th February 1792.

(51) The author means, those who were imprisoned at Seringapatam, of which city chinna Ganjam is a suburb.

31 (52) Wilks III 235. About the period (see Curry page 330) Tippoo abolished the European words of command and military music, reinstating the Turkish music and words of command. Compare chap. I. Section 75.

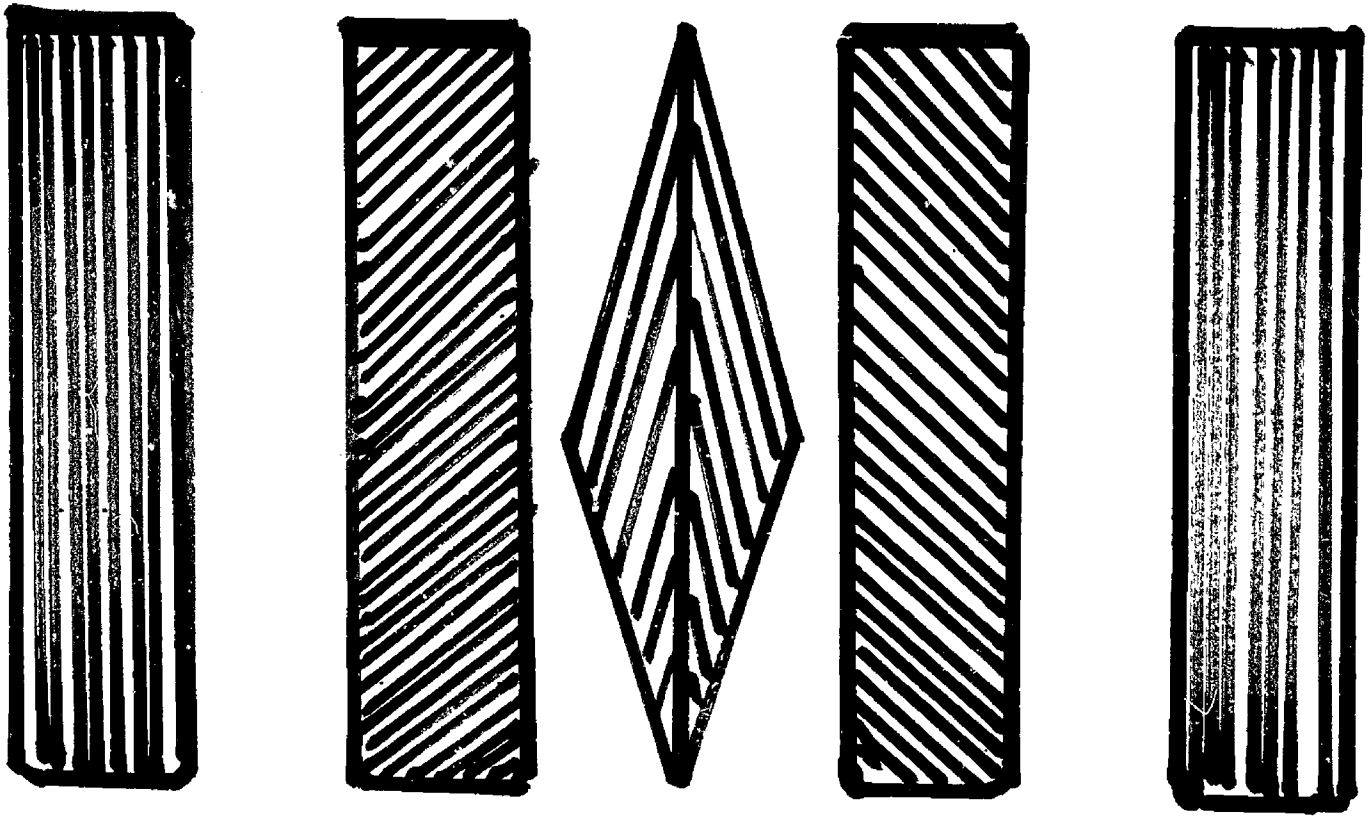
93 3 5 (53) That is to say 50 per cent: see Sir T. Munro's memoris p. 234.

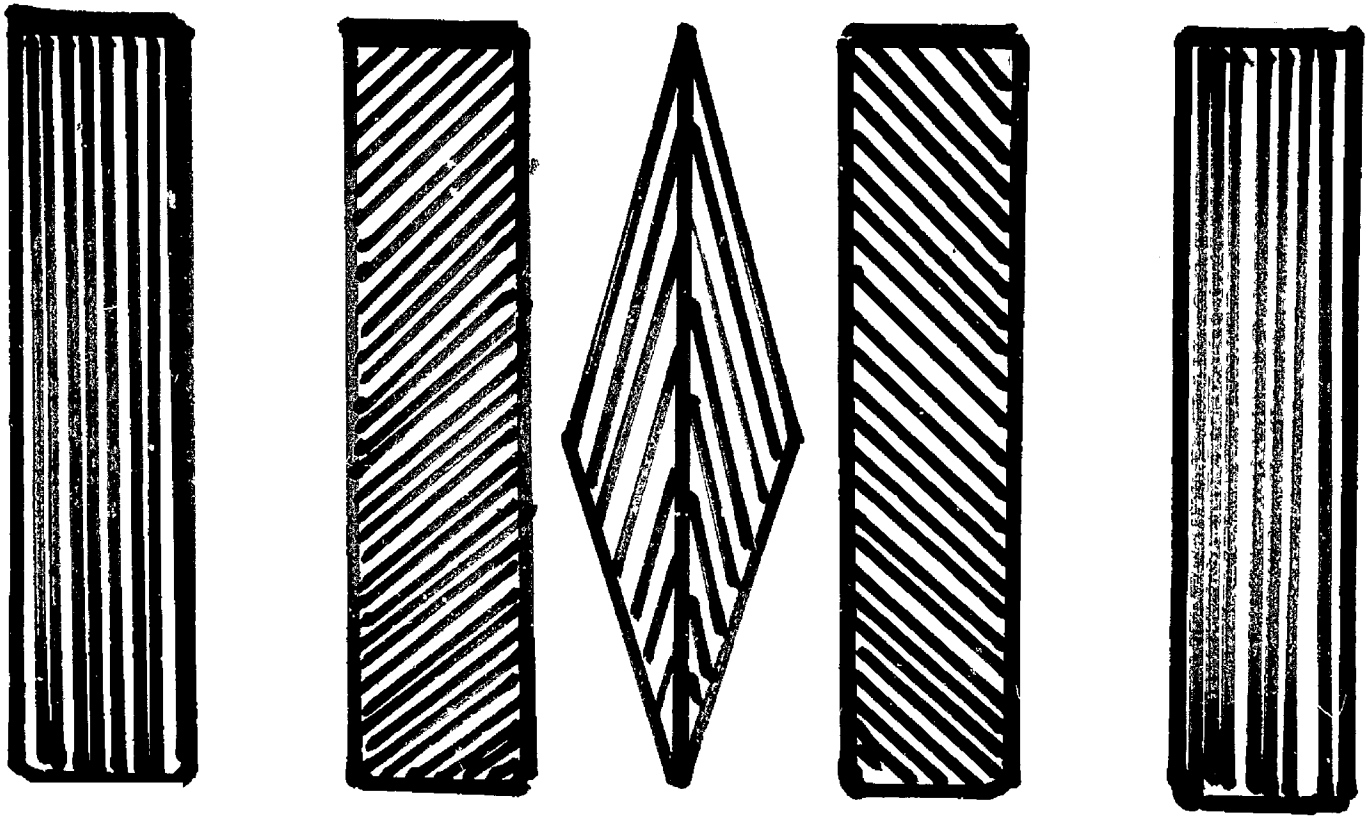
* Strange that so careful a historian should err in a matter so familiar to him. Wilks III. 244 says. Three crores and thirty three

Page	Para	
93	35	(53) lacks of Rupees: of which sum one half was to be paid down.)
		(54) The people of the Dahriya sect avoid using double names: they use such names as Mahdikhan, Ghalib khan, Khasim Khan, they avoid double name as Abdul Mehammad, or Hasn Alikhan or Hussein Navaz khan.
94	39	* See Ham Buch 2. 196 Pope Gregory styled such extortions benevolences: Charles the first Called them LOANS. Regarding June 2792 see A.A.R. IV 134. Here enter Seurry's Memoir.)
95	42	(†) Dairi-4 mahda corrupted from (. dwala,) (54) madavi. see Herklots p. 13. 14.)
	43	(55) The word khillat seems to be misapplied in this passage.
		* A khillat is a robe of honour: a handsome present, in jewels, shawls, &c.
96	45	= Regarding Dhonji see index to Thornton and ib. III, 118.
	46	(1) Tippoo increased the taxes like Caracalla and we reduced them like his successor Severus. See Bibbon's Rome, (end of chapter VI.) and Elliott on Apocalypse, I. 156. Had the English had to struggle with the original Hindu institutions, the task would have been interminable. But (happily for us) the Musulmans, (especially Hyder and Tippoo) broke down all the immunities of Bramins with a rod of iron; those very institutions which were likely to impede and frustrate good government were crushed. The iron heel of the Moslem destroyed the ancient tyrannies, and left to the English the less odious task of constructing a government on principles more equitable and humane.
	47	(2) The tomb of Raymond is at Hydrabad. It appears that, while he was Commandant of the French force at Hydrabad, he opened a secret correspondence with Tippoo (Beatson, p. 217. note)
		(3) See Wilks 3, 351 where Tippoo seems to have jumbled two stories. The French narrative is printed in the Asiatic Annual Register: 1799; Supplement: p. 220 dated 22nd May 1797. In the next page (p. 221) of the same book is another fable of high mass performed in the parish church at Seringapatam: where as Tippoo would gladly have circumcised all the Frenchmen.
98	53	(4) Beatson (p. 187.) shews that at last there were only two persons; Husein Ali Khan, and Mohammad Ibrahim: but the same page calls them Bismilla and Abd ur Rahim. In Local records X. 174 a Bismilla Saheb is said to have been at Cuddapa with Halim Khan. See Annual Register, 1798, 'Chronicle' p. 255.

Page	para		
8	54	(5)	Tippoo's troops were beaten by the Coorg Warriors. see A. An Reg. 1800 p. 7. Tippoo's 200 men commanded by Mir Mohammad Ali at Bantwall and Purcumba were beaten by Kalliana Peddana and Boopoo. See Fifth Report p. 124 regarding these events.
	55	(6)	Sir T.Munro 1, 230 says that the right wing of the English army entered Tippoo's country on the 6th March 1799, the left wing of the 7th and the reserve on the 8th.
9		(7)	In this passage the pronouns are so far confused that it is not easy to guess which person is meant.
		(8)	Musa Shaffe is written in the original for Mons. Chapuis. Wilks 3. 343. See Beatson 183. At this time the English made a treaty with the Nizam who thereupon disbanded his troops.
	56	(9)	That is, 4th May 1799. In the Asiatic Annual Register vol. 2. (July 1799) page 19, it is mentioned that when Seringapatam fell, Tippoo Sultan's only brother, Kareem Saheb, was in irons in a dungeon. He had languished in this condition for many years. This was caused by an unfounded fit of jealousy which Tippoo had conceived against him.

@@@@@@





A

NARRATIVE

OF THE

SUFFERINGS

OF

JAMES BRISTOW,

BELONGING TO THE BENGAL ARTILLEY,

DURING

TEN YEARS CAPTIVITY

WITH

HYDER ALLY AND TIPPOO SAHEB.

UNIVERSITY LIBRARY
No.
Date
MYSORE.

" ——— quis talia fando
" Temperet à lacrymis ?—

VIRG.

SECOND EDITION.

CALCUTTA PRINTED:

LONDON, RE-PRINTED FOR J. MURRAY, NO. 32,

FLEET STREET. M.DCC.XCIV.

954.8703
BRI

CONTENTS.

CHAP. I.

Account of the author's birth and family—he enters into the ſervice of the Eaſt India Company—joins the grand army under Sir Eyre Coote—is taken priſoner by a party of Hyder Ally's horſe—conveyed with many more of his countrymen to Seringapatam—they are circumciſed, and compelled to obſerve the rites of the Mahometan religion—death of ſeveral of the captives. p. 15.

CHAP. II.

Arrival of Colonel Braithwaite's detachment, and of ſeveral ſeamen given up by Suffrein—mortality among the priſoners—death of Colonel Baillie—demiſe of Hyder Ally—he is ſucceeded by Tippoo Sultan—murder of General Matthews. p. 47.

CHAP. III.

Removal of the priſoners from Seringapatam to Myſore—various expeditions of Tippoo againſt the tributaries of the Nizam—cruel treatment of the priſoners—marriage of Tippoo's eldeſt ſon—his intolerance to his Hindoo ſubjects—his attack upon the Rajah of Travancore—rupture between him and the Engliſh—approach of General Meadows

dows—action with Colonel Floyd—the priſoners conducted to the hill forts. p. 77.

CHAP. IV.

Deſcription of Seringapatam—the priſoners leave that place and are ſent to Outradroog—after various difficulties they effect their eſcape—the author loſes his companions. p. 130.

CHAP. V.

He is in danger of periſhing by hunger, and is relieved by an Hindoo woman—eſcapes from two tygers—is ſeized by a party of Tippoo's polygars; from whom he eſcapes—is received by a detachment of the Mahratta forces, protected

tected by Captain Reid and the Engliſh troops—arrives at Fort William —concluding obſervations. p. 165.

TO

TO

COLONEL GEORGE DEARE,

COMMANDANT OF THE

BENGAL ARTILLERY.

SIR,

THE perſon whoſe ſufferings are here related, has the honour of belonging to the corps which is under your command. Permit me, therefore, to claim your patronage to a narrative, publiſhed chiefly with a

view to benefit the children of a man, who were expoſed to uncommon anxiety and diſtreſs during the long and painful captivity of their father. A farther motive for prefixing your name to the preſent Dedication, is the private gratification of,

SIR,

Your moſt obedient,

humble ſervant,

THE COMPILER.

Fort William, 1782.

INTRO-

INTRODUCTION.

THE compiler of the following ſheets is far from concluding, that the adverſities and hardſhips which have marked the exiſtence of an obſcure individual, can be ſufficiently intereſting to claim the attention of thoſe, whoſe eaſy ſituations ſcarcely admit of a juſt idea of the ſufferings of the unfortunate; nor does he imagine that plain facts, ſuch as an unlettered obſerver has been able to collect, during a rigorous captivity in a ſtate, whoſe

government, politics, internal regulations, and every ſituation, have hitherto been imperfectly known to Europeans reſident in Aſia, can contain ſufficient information to recompenſe the reader for his trouble. But he truſts that the compaſſion for the unfortunate, which has ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed his countrymen, will operate ſufficiently in this inſtance, to induce them to overlook the unimportance of a narrative, which claims no other merit than a ſtrict adherence to truth.

After the "*Memoirs of the laſt War* "*in Aſia*," including a narrative of the impriſonment and ſufferings, principally of the Britiſh officers, it may, perhaps, be thought ſuperfluous to intrude a ſecond detail of the ſame nature upon

upon the public, particularly as the great uniformity and ſameneſs which reigns throughout the former, naturally ſuggeſts, that the journal of one week would have conveyed every neceſſary idea of the whole, and that conſequently any additional account muſt be trifling and frivolous.

A captivity of ten years, during which period ſeveral removals from one place of impriſonment to another took place, and many changes in point of treatment occurred, includes much more variety than the account of what befel our officers, who remained under cloſe confinement, till delivered up; and admitted more opportunities to ſee ſomething of the country, to converſe with the natives, whoſe language naturally

became familiar to a perſon who ſcarcely heard any other, and who every moment felt the inconvenience of being unable to make his wants known and underſtood, to examine particularly the ſtrength and ſituation of the fortreſs of Seringapatam, to learn the fate and diſpoſal of a number of fellow captives, not releaſed at the concluſion of the peace, (ſome of whom had been priſoners many years, prior to the commencement of the war in 1780) and, in ſhort, to be better informed in every reſpect, than gentlemen who were never ſuffered to ſtep beyond the limits of their priſon. Several of the vexations and acts of violence committed againſt the private ſoldiers, could not reach the knowledge of the officers, though many

many of them came to their ears, nor could they know what befel them ſubſequent to their releaſe. The unremitted ill uſage a number of unfortunate Engliſh ſubjects then underwent; the different threats, torments, and promiſes, employed to intimidate or cajole wretched and defenceleſs men, into a voluntary acceptance of the ſervice of a deteſtable tyrant; the plans that were laid for diſpatching every one of the captive Europeans throughout his dominions; and finally, the hazardous and patient efforts, by which the author ſucceeded at laſt in effecting an eſcape, with other ſubſequent adventures, are matters entirely new, and different from thoſe contained in the narrative already alluded to. More worthy, indeed, of

public indulgence, would theſe remarks and the narrative have proved, had the capacity and genius of the author admitted a greater ſcope to his details.

The compiler has avoided prolixity as much as poſſible, and ſpared repetitions where he found any thing fully narrated in the journal of the memoirs already mentioned, which contain true and very accurate accounts of different occurrences which he never imagined could have come to the knowledge of people that were watched ſo cloſely as the Britiſh officers, particularly the circumſtances attending the murder of General Matthews. The author's removal from the common priſon, ſome months after his arrival at Seringapatam, prevented his diſcovering in what man-

manner the officers acquired their information. Some repetitions may perhaps occur, but ſuch only confirm facts of which the world never can have too many teſtimonies. Theſe facts are of ſuch an atrocious, baſe, and unparalleled nature, that every poſſible confirmation is requiſite to give them credibility with men that find it difficult to ſuppoſe ſuch acts of barbarity could exiſt, or be engendered in the mind of a man, who has been adjudged, at leaſt, an able uſurper, and the reduction of whoſe proſtituted power, which is the object of the preſent war, has been reprobated by Britiſh ſenators.

It would be ſtrange, indeed, if hoſtilities, in their nature deviating ſo egregiouſly from civilized warfare, ſhould be

be carried on with that inveteracy with which Hyder and his ſucceſſor Tippoo have made war upon the Engliſh nation, without cauſes of complaint having (the compiler is well perſuaded) in very few inſtances occurred on our ſide. The French journaliſts and authors of anecdotes have induſtriouſly propagated every circumſtance which tended to depreciate the conduct of our Aſiatic armies laſt war, and have allowed invention to take a very active part in their relations, without reflecting that no war whatever has been exempt from abuſes, and that the very nation which till lately maintained indiſputable pretenſions to gentleneſs, urbanity, punctilious principles of honour, and liberal bravery, has not eſ-

caped

caped occaſional, and very glaring deviations from their general practice, though it would be highly illiberal, from the miſconduct of individuals, to fix a ſtigma on a whole people. He will alſo admit, that perſonal ſufferings may have produced injudicious reſentment, in particular inſtances, ſince the commencement of the preſent war; but he will by no means allow theſe extraordinary caſes (admitting their exiſtence) to be laid down as a general rule, nor will he conſent to their being brought into competition with a fixed, methodical, cruel, and ferocious ſyſtem of barbarous policy, which has been practiſed on ſettled principles.

That

That it ſhould ever diſgrace the fame and glory of ſo diſtinguiſhed an officer as Admiral Suffrein, to conſign ſome hundreds of priſoners to the diſpoſal of an enemy ſo rancorous to the race of Europeans as Hyder Ally was notoriouſly known to be, (notwithſtanding the flattering encomiums and favourable inſinuations of the partial and incorrect M. Le Maitre de la Tour) muſt certainly produce aſtoniſhment and abhorrence in every mind, and mingle pity with the admiration his merits exact.

It only remains to be mentioned, that the author's early removal from Bengal to the grand army, where he will enjoy a ſatisfaction almoſt equi-

valent,

valent, in his opinion, to the ſufferings he has undergone, of being uſeful to his country, in giving ſuch information as he is able, and of fighting once more againſt an enemy that ſo ſhamefully tarniſhed his victories, has rendered it impracticable to gain a number of little additional lights and informations, which could not immediately occur on taking down the ſcattered notes of the author. When the whole came to be digeſted, theſe deficiencies fully manifeſted themſelves, but it was then too late to remedy them. The mutilated newſpaper account of the author, picked up from converſation, and uſhered into the world in the ſame manner as thoſe of ſome of the

the perſons particularly mentioned in this narrative, whoſe eſcape from Tippoo has been publiſhed ſince this compilation was undertaken, are all of too inſignificant and inaccurate a nature to be capable of hurting the narrative.

NARRATIVE, &c.

CHAP. I.

Account of the author's birth and family—he enters into the ſervice of the Eaſt India Company—joins the grand army under Sir Eyre Coote—is taken priſoner by a party of Hyder Ally's horſe—conveyed with many more of his countrymen to Seringapatam—they are circumciſed, and compelled to obſerve the rites of the Mahometan religion—death of ſeveral of the captives.

I WAS born in the year 1757 in Norwich, in the county of Norfolk. My father, who was a blackſmith, bound

bound me apprentice to a carpenter, with whom I did not, however, remain a complete twelvemonth, being allured, more by a deſire to ſee the world, than the bounty of one ſhilling which I received, to enliſt with a Captain Monney, then recruiting for the Honourable Eaſt India Company. When the Captain had collected to the number of fifty recruits, he marched us up to London, where we underwent an examination on the day of our arrival, and were, to my no ſmall diſappointment, ſent down to Graveſend that very evening, and embarked on board the Prince of Wales Indiaman, under diſpatch for Bengal, and commanded by Captain Scott, a gentleman who had loſt an arm, as I afterwards underſtood, in a duel at Madras.

My whole ſtock, when on board, conſiſted in the jacket and trowſers I wore, with half-a-guinea in ſpecie, which

which each man had received from the Company. Thus provided, I commenced ſoldier at the early age of fourteen years, and ſoon forgot both anxiety for myſelf, and concern for thoſe I had left.

On the 1ſt of April, 1771, we ſailed from England with a fair wind, and landed in Bengal, after what was then deemed a proſperous paſſage, of ſix months, on the 1ſt of October following. It was our good fortune to be treated with humanity on board, and to eſcape calamitous diſtempers during the voyage, which was marked with no diſaſter, except that one of the recruits, a very young man, who having raſhly left his friends, jumped overboard and was loſt whilſt we were at anchor in Falſe Bay, at the Cape of Good Hope.

Very ſoon after my arrival in Bengal I was, with other recruits, ſent up to Dinapore, to complete the firſt Eu-

ropean regiment, then commanded by Colonel Champion, and appointed to Captain Moſes Crawford's company on the very day he attained that rank. I was by this time perfectly reconciled to my ſituation, for which I had not been without apprehenſions, (in the moments of reflection) ſo natural to a young adventurer, who quits his native ſoil, and traverſes the ocean to a diſtant region, which ignorance, and the prejudices of education, have taught him to dread. I frequently ſhuddered at the ſervice I had engaged in, and conſidered the life of a common ſoldier, (ſo little to be envied at home) to be ſomething truly deplorable in this country: but my uneaſineſs was ſoon diſpelled, and my ſatisfaction increaſed in proportion to the magnitude of my fears: ſo different is the ſituation of a private ſoldier in Bengal from what our ideas repreſent, by comparing it with

with the ſame thing in Europe, that my ſurprize was incredible, when I found that a life which is commonly eſteemed wretched, was not without great comforts, and might even be rendered deſireable.

The troops at Dinapore took the field ſhortly after my arrival, under the command of General Sir Robert Barker: it was then that I, for the firſt time in my life, beheld an Indian army; and the magnificence, as well as diſorder, which reigned in Sujah Dowlah's camp, filled me with an aſtoniſhment on walking through his rich bazar one day, the view of which will ever dwell on my memory, as it differed ſo widely from the notions I had formed to myſelf of hoſtile preparations.

As the hiſtory of this campaign is equally unimportant and foreign to the preſent narrative, I ſhall paſs it over, as well as what befel me for ſeveral

years afterwards, in ſilence: let it ſuffice, that having obtained a recommendation to Captain, now Lieutenant Colonel Huſſey, of the artillery, I renewed in that corps in 1779, from Captain Charles Weer's company of grenadiers, to which I had the honour of belonging for a twelvemonth, and on the 11th of October, 1780, being previouſly appointed camp colourman, embarked with Captain Huſſey's and another company of artillery, and ſix of infantry, on board the Kingſton, for the purpoſe of eſcorting the commander in-chief of India, Lieutenant General Sir Eyre Coote, to Madras.

In the roads of Ballaſore we met a violent gale of wind, which might have proved fatal to the Britiſh intereſt in the Eaſt, as all the hopes of the other preſidency centered in the ſuccours to arrive from Bengal; but it abated after a few days, and we experienced

rienced a good paſſage againſt the monſoon, or ſouth weſterly winds, landing at Fort St. George to the great joy of the whole ſettlement, on the 5th of November following, having brought the pilot with us, as his ſloop had diſappeared in the ſtorm.

The general's firſt care was to collect the diſmayed troops at St. Thomas's Mount, with a view immediately to arreſt the progreſs of Hyder's devaſtations. On the very day our detachment left the fort, Serjeant Dempſter, of the ſame company with myſelf, of whom mention is made hereafter, and ſeveral of whoſe letters are printed in the "*Memoirs of the late* "*War in Aſia*," deſerted and went over to Hyder.

We took the field under our veteran commander on the 17th of January, 1781, with all the troops that could be collected and ſpared for the purpoſe,

no more being left to garriſon Fort St. George than were judged abſolutely neceſſary. The grand army conſiſted of about ſeven or eight thouſand effective men, one eighth part of which were cavalry, and ſixty pieces of ordnance, with a proportion of military ſtores. This reſpectable body of men, formidable if oppoſed in battle array to the moſt numerous rabble of Aſia, moved to the relief of Wandewaſh, then cloſely inveſted by Hyder Ally's troops. Five days afterwards Carangooly was ſurprized by a detachment from the army under Captain Davies, and Hyder abandoned the ſiege the moment he heard of our approach. I recollect it was eſteemed a very auſpicious omen that this event took place on the very anniverſary of that day, (namely the 22d of January) on which our general had proved ſo eminently victorious at the ſame place one and twenty

twenty years before, over Count Lally and the French army. After throwing ſuccours into this place, the army continued its march, and on the 5th of February, ſat down on the Red hills near Pondicherry. It was here that my ſufferings, for a length of years, commenced.

I accompanied Lieutenant Doxat, our quarter-maſter of artillery, to Pondicherry, for the purpoſe of deſtroying the French boats, that M. d'Orves, who had a few days before appeared on the coaſt with a fleet, might not effect the landing of military ſupplies, and a party of Frenchmen for Hyder's ſervice; and which attempt he had already made, but precipitately relinquiſhed when our army approached. We ſpiked ſeveral iron guns which the French had buried in the ſand on the beach, and had juſt broke up and ſet fire to all the boats, when the day

dawned and forced us to retire, to avoid the firing from the fleet. Our camp was within two miles of the town, but before we had proceeded half-way thither, a prodigious buſtle and hurry of people, running confuſedly towards Pondicherry, announced a party of Hyder's horſe, which had interpoſed between the town and our camp. Waggons overſet, and loads of different articles, proceeding to our bazar, lay ſcattered and abandoned on the ground. Lieutenant Doxat, who inſtantly mounted his horſe, had barely paſſed a croſs road when a party of them came ſuddenly upon me. I was inſtantly ſeized, and removed to a convenient diſtance from the high road, and ſtripped of every thing I poſſeſſed. Theſe daring *looties* * deſtroyed every thing they met with, but had

* A banditti of free booters.

no

no time for removing the plunder, being purſued from our camp. In the mean time they had ventured near enough to our lines to ſnatch up the ſerjeant-major of one of the ſepoy battalions, who was bathing in the front of the quarter guard, in a tank: the name of this unfortunate man was *Rickman*.

My ſituation from this inſtant became truly deplorable; robbed of liberty, I found myſelf in the clutches of barbarians, who treated me with cruelty and ſcorn, and kept me in ſuſpenſe with reſpect to my life. I was not, however, indulged with much time to contemplate the horrors of my ſituation; for having bound my arms behind me, they hurried me almoſt naked before Hyder, on the 6th of February, about two o'clock in the afternoon: he was then encamped on the right flank of our army, at about five

five or ſix miles diſtance, between us and Cuddelore, to the northward of the road. Hyder's tent exhibited nothing very extraordinary and magnificent, except a rich Perſian carpet ſpread on the ground, and held down by four maſſy ſilver weights at the corners, ſomething in form reſembling ſugar loaves. Several French officers were preſent; I was interrogated through one of them, who ſpoke Engliſh, with reſpect to the ſtrength and deſtination of our army; but having replied, that our troops amounted to 35,000 men, 5000 of whom were Europeans, and that we had ſeventy pieces of ordnance in the field, the interpreter briſkly told me, "*I lied,*" we had no ſuch thing! and that all our Europeans in India collected together would not amount to that number. Hyder was ſo much exaſperated at my attempt to deceive him, that he kept me three days without

out any food, tied down on the ground in the rear of his tent, which was the ſtation I conſtantly occupied during the ſeven days I remained in his camp. In this miſerable ſituation, lying bound on the bare ſand when halting, and laſhed to Rickman, the ſerjeant-major, when marching, expoſed to the weather, day and night, without any nouriſhment, I muſt inevitably have periſhed, if the humanity of my guards had not relieved me with ſome food now and then by ſtealth. On the fourth day, Hyder having encamped near Cuddeloŕe, where the Engliſh army was entrenched, I received a viſit from Mahomed Beg, a dubaſh, who ſpoke Engliſh; he ordered me one ſeer of rice and two pice per day, which I received for four days, after which Mahomed Beg paid me a ſecond viſit, and propoſed to me to enter into Hyder's ſervice: in order to prevail on me,

five or ſix miles diſtance, between us and Cuddelore, to the northward of the road. Hyder's tent exhibited nothing very extraordinary and magnificent, except a rich Perſian carpet ſpread on the ground, and held down by four maſſy ſilver weights at the corners, ſomething in form reſembling ſugar loaves. Several French officers were preſent; I was interrogated through one of them, who ſpoke Engliſh, with reſpect to the ſtrength and deſtination of our army; but having replied, that our troops amounted to 35,000 men, 5000 of whom were Europeans, and that we had ſeventy pieces of ordnance in the field, the interpreter briſkly told me, "*I lied*," we had no ſuch thing! and that all our Europeans in India collected together would not amount to that number. Hyder was ſo much exaſperated at my attempt to deceive him, that he kept me three days without

out any food, tied down on the ground in the rear of his tent, which was the ſtation I conſtantly occupied during the ſeven days I remained in his camp. In this miſerable ſituation, lying bound on the bare ſand when halting, and laſhed to Rickman, the ſerjeant-major, when marching, expoſed to the weather, day and night, without any nouriſhment, I muſt inevitably have periſhed, if the humanity of my guards had not relieved me with ſome food now and then by ſtealth. On the fourth day, Hyder having encamped near Cuddelore, where the Engliſh army was entrenched, I received a viſit from Mahomed Beg, a dubaſh, who ſpoke Engliſh; he ordered me one ſeer of rice and two pice per day, which I received for four days, after which Mahomed Beg paid me a ſecond viſit, and propoſed to me to enter into Hyder's ſervice: in order to prevail on me,

me, he promiſed that I ſhould be well treated, and receive good pay; but finding me obſtinate in refuſing, he went away apparently much diſſatisfied, and it was not long before I felt the ill effects of my non-compliance, for half my daily allowance in money, together with ſome proviſions I had received from Hyder's kitchen the laſt four days, were immediately curtailed, and I was laſhed to the ſerjeant-major, and removed to Gingee, a ſmall fort on a rock, which had been ſurrendered to Hyder in a cowardly manner the preceding December, by a party of the nabob's troops which chiefly compoſed the garriſon, and where part of his army at this time was encamped to guard his women, proviſions, ſtores, and camp equipage. Before I was removed from Hyder's camp, I had the mortification to ſee our whole army drawn up in order of battle, three days

ſuc-

ſucceſſively. Fortunately ſome of my own cloaths and a blanket had been reſtored to me the day before I was deſired to enter into Hyder's ſervice. On my arrival at Gingee I was hand-cuffed, and from thence, the ſucceeding day, removed to Arcot, where my hand-cuffs were exchanged for heavy leg-irons. I remained near three weeks in the priſon of Arcot, and might, I am pretty certain, have eſcaped, had it only once during that period proved a very dark or rainy night; but the moon and ſtars ſhone ſo bright, (a circumſtance which I at that time thought a ſerious misfortune) and it appeared ſo impracticable to elude our guards and the ſoldiers of Hyder, who infeſted the ſtreets and place during theſe clear nights, that the circumſtance of having contrived, by means of perſeverance and a piece of broken china, to file down the head

of the nail which rivetted my irons, ſo as to be able to throw them off at pleaſure, availed me nothing. One night's rain, or even one heavy ſhower, would have driven guards, ſentries, and the whole garriſon, according to the practice of the Aſiatic ſoldiers, under cover, and conſequently left the coaſt clear—but I was reſerved for ſeverer trials.

Colonel Baillie, Captain Rumley, Lieutenant Frazer, and a Mr. Skardon, were at this time confined in Arcot. The latter of theſe gentlemen had been the Engliſh reſident at Pondicherry, and treacherouſly delivered up by the French inhabitants, who were ſuffered to reſide unmoleſted on their paroles at the time of committing this act of barbarity. An European ſoldier, who by ſome neglect was left behind ſick on the day we marched to the Red hills, and ſnatched up by ſome of

of the looties that conſtantly hovered about our camp, died in his irons at this place, without receiving the ſmalleſt aſſiſtance, or any notice being taken of his lamentations. Prior to my remove from hence my irons were taken off, and the hand-cuffs again replaced, probably becauſe heavy fetters might retard the march to Seringapatam, to which place I was next deſtined. On the 1ſt of March, 1781, this journey commenced, with the melancholy proſpect of never reviſiting thoſe companions from whom the chance of war had ſecluded me.

As ſoon as I was out of the fort of Arcot I diſcovered three palanquins, containing Britiſh officers in the ſame predicament with myſelf, and I ſoon learnt that they were Colonel Baillie, Captain Rumley, and Lieutenant Frazer, who had recovered from their wounds. Mr. Skardon's priſon had, in-

indeed, been contiguous to mine; we had often converſed over the low wall which divided our cells, and this gentleman had aſſiſted me both with money and cloaths, but he was as ignorant as myſelf of the ſituation of the above officers. A Lieutenant Brumpton, delivered up by the French nearly in the ſame manner as Mr. Skardon, and Mr. M'Neal, the mate of a country ſhip, had been, were among the priſoners at this time carried to Seringapatam.

We proceeded to Arnee the firſt day, and the ſecond to a fort at the foot of the hills, or gauts. On this march we were exceedingly hurried, and frequently ſtruck to haſten our ſteps, the cauſe of which, as I underſtood from one of the priſoners, was our near approach, in the courſe of the day, to the fort of Vellore, from whence almoſt any party which had ſallied might have reſcued us, as our convoy only conſiſted

1781

of

of about thirty ſepoys, and fifty poly-gars. But they had, unfortunately, no intimation of our proximity at the gar-riſon, and it was entirely out of our power to apprize Colonel Lang, the commanding officer of it, by any means or contrivance, nor had we any thing which could corrupt the fidelity of our convoy.

It took us five day to traverſe the paſſes, and four days more to reach Oſſore; we paſſed an aſtoniſhing num-ber of ſmall mud forts on the road, and got to Seringapatam on the eigh-teenth of the month. They allowed us to halt one day in the pettah of Bangalore, round the wall of which they were digging a trench at the time, and adding a ditch to the weſt face of the fort. I cannot tell if it was the ſame all round, as no other ſide was viſible.

indeed, been contiguous to mine; we had often converſed over the low wall which divided our cells, and this gentleman had aſſiſted me both with money and cloaths, but he was as ignorant as myſelf of the ſituation of the above officers. A Lieutenant Brumpton, delivered up by the French nearly in the ſame manner as Mr. Skardon, and Mr. M'Neal, the mate of a country ſhip, had been, were among the priſoners at this time carried to Seringapatam.

We proceeded to Arnee the firſt day, and the ſecond to a fort at the foot of the hills, or gauts. On this march we were exceedingly hurried, and frequently ſtruck to haſten our ſteps, the cauſe of which, as I underſtood from one of the priſoners, was our near approach, in the courſe of the day; to the fort of Vellore, from whence almoſt any party which had ſallied might have reſcued us, as our convoy only conſiſted

1781

of

of about thirty ſepoys, and fifty poly-gars. But they had, unfortunately, no intimation of our proximity at the gar-riſon, and it was entirely out of our power to apprize Colonel Lang, the commanding officer of it, by any means or contrivance, nor had we any thing which could corrupt the fidelity of our convoy.

It took us five day to traverſe the paſſes, and four days more to reach Oſſore; we paſſed an aſtoniſhing num-ber of ſmall mud forts on the road, and got to Seringapatam on the eigh-teenth of the month. They allowed us to halt one day in the pettah of Bangalore, round the wall of which they were digging a trench at the time, and adding a ditch to the weſt face of the fort. I cannot tell if it was the ſame all round, as no other ſide was viſible.

On our arrival at Seringapatam, Mr. Skardon was ſent to the officers priſon, but Lieutenant Brumpton and Mr. M'Neal were lodged with us. The former of theſe two had once eſcaped from Hyder, and nearly reached Cuddelore before he was retaken; this might probably be his reaſon for confining him amongſt the ſoldiers, and treating him with more ſeverity than the reſt of the officers, at leaſt I never heard of any other. Colonel Baillie, Captain Rumley, and Lieutenant Frazer, were confined by themſelves. About 300 Europeans, moſtly taken near Tacoallum, were all ſhut up in one priſon, conſiſting of a very ſpacious ſquare, with a ſhade or verandah along the wall, not unlike a ſeray, or what is more commonly termed a caravanſary. Numbers were, at the time of my arrival, afflicted with epidemical dif-

diſtempers, but neither care nor aſſiſtance were beſtowed on them; a kind of dropſical ſwelling, in particular, killed many. The ſmall pox, ſo fatal in the eaſt, eſpecially to grown people who catch it in the natural way, had found entrance into the priſon, and ſwept away almoſt all the priſoners who had not had the diſorder. I aſcribe the preſervation of my life to a ſingular contrivance; having made a ſmall ball of wax as hard as I could, I applied it to my leg, and tied one of my coat buttons ſo tight over it, that the ball forced a hole through the ſkin into the leg, in which ſituation I ſuffered it to remain for ſeveral months, preſerving a kind of conſtant iſſue.

Shortly after my arrival amongſt the priſoners, I was accoſted by Serjeant Dempſter, who had deſerted (as I have mentioned) at the Mount, but was now confined in the common priſon.

He queſtioned me concerning my coming to Seringapatam, but on diſcovering my averſion to his diſcourſe, and that I had been taken priſoner, he put an end to the converſation by preſenting me with ſome *hoppers*,* and ſeemed ſomewhat aſhamed at meeting a perſon who had belonged to the ſame corps with himſelf. After this time, I had little intercourſe with him, notwithſtanding we continued for ſeveral months in the ſame priſon. He was univerſally deteſted by the priſoners, being a deſerter, and alſo ſuſpected of ſometimes betraying his countrymen to the tyranny of the power which held them in captivity. He proteſted he had no intention of deſerting to Hyder, and that he had only intended to get off to ſome ſhip, but was picked up in the attempt. He re-

* A *kind* of cake made of rice flour.

ceived

ceived good treatment, and ſome marks of attention at firſt, but irregularity and miſconduct had forced Hyder to degrade him almoſt immediately; he ſtill received ſeveral indulgences, and was well diſpoſed to be uſeful to the tyrant, though his behaviour was too inconſiſtent to entitle him to confidence, and defeated any views he might have of raiſing his fortune in the ſervice of a native power;—he formerly held a commiſſion in his Majeſty's ſervice.

I remained nine months in this priſon, conſtantly loaded with irons, and allowed only one ſeer of rice and a pice per day, during which time, as the wiſh of delivering ourſelves from ſo intolerable a captivity chiefly occupied our thoughts, Lieutenant Brumpton, Mr. M'Neal, three others, and myſelf, formed a plan for eſcaping. We had already prepared rice-cakes as

proviſions for the journey, and procured ropes for ſcaling the wall, when the very evening preceding our propoſed departure, a heavy ſhower of rain fell and waſhed away that identical part of the priſon wall which had been fixed upon for the eſcalade. A ſtrong guard was in conſequence immediately planted on the ſpot. The rain not only diſconcerted our plan, but alſo it diſcovered what a perilous taſk we had engaged in; for when the wall was down, I perceived ſufficient unknown obſtacles to convince me how little probability there was of having ſucceeded. The ſcheme was accordingly laid aſide, for a fruſtrated attempt to eſcape would only have augmented the rigour of our confinement.

1781 In the month of September, 1781, about ſix months after my impriſonment, the Nyar, a Bramin, and the commander of our guards, entered the priſon

priſon early in the morning, and ſelected Serjeant Dempſter, with fifteen more of the priſoners, among whom were two young boys, drummers of the 73d regiment; ſtruck off their irons, and without deigning to utter a word, carried them away, for the purpoſe, as I ſoon after underſtood, of circumciſing them. They reſiſted a long while, and bore very cruel treatment before they ſubmitted to this operation, nor did they ſubmit at laſt, until they were ſtupified with *majum*,* which they had been forced to ſwallow.

This incident ſpread general terror amongſt the reſt of the priſoners, every one apprehending that he might be the next victim devoted to Mahometiſm; nor were our fears groundleſs, for early in January, 1782, the ſame perſons reentered our priſon, accompanied by

* A ſtrong opiate.

Serjeant Dempſter, and made a ſecond ſelection of fourteen, in which number I had the misfortune to be included. As Dempſter was ſuſpected of a ſhare in this horrid buſineſs, at leaſt ſo far as pointing out the objects on whom the choice ought to fall; every one of us were highly exaſperated againſt him, and it was fortunate for him that he was protected by the guards. The treatment the firſt victims had undergone, ſerved in ſome degree to apprize us of the inutility of reſiſtance. With horror and indignation we ſwallowed the narcotic potion, and thoſe whom the doſe had no effect upon, were forcibly ſeized and pinioned by ſtout coffres, whilſt the operation was performed (having previouſly ſhaved us in the cuſtomary manner) a ceremony which they continued to obſerve for three years. After the operation, our right ears were perforated, and ſmall

ſilver

ſilver rings with round knobs fixed in them, this being a mark of ſlavery amongſt the Mahometans. As ſoon as we had recovered from this diabolical ceremony, we were transferred to what is termed the tyrant's *Chaylah* battalions (that is, ſlaves;) theſe are compoſed of ſuch of his own ſubjects as have been condemned to perpetual ſlavery, and ſuch unfortunate captives as he takes in war. The preſent conſiſted chiefly of boys ſurprized in the Carnatic, whom he accuſtomed to military exerciſe, with large ſticks, cut in the ſhape of muſkets. The taſk impoſed upon us (thoſe who refuſed being cruelly flogged) was to inſtruct theſe *Chaylahs* in the manual exerciſe. Our ſituation conſequently became worſe than before; we were obliged to perform an office, which, however ſmall the benefit we took care the practitioners ſhould derive from it, could not

Serjeant Dempſter, and made a ſecond ſelection of fourteen, in which number I had the misfortune to be included. As Dempſter was ſuſpected of a ſhare in this horrid buſineſs, at leaſt ſo far as pointing out the objects on whom the choice ought to fall; every one of us were highly exaſperated againſt him, and it was fortunate for him that he was protected by the guards. The treatment the firſt victims had undergone, ſerved in ſome degree to apprize us of the inutility of reſiſtance. With horror and indignation we ſwallowed the narcotic potion, and thoſe whom the doſe had no effect upon, were forcibly ſeized and pinioned by ſtout coffres, whilſt the operation was performed (having previouſly ſhaved us in the cuſtomary manner) a ceremony which they continued to obſerve for three years. After the operation, our right ears were perforated, and ſmall

ſilver

ſilver rings with round knobs fixed in them, this being a mark of ſlavery amongſt the Mahometans. As ſoon as we had recovered from this diabolical ceremony, we were transferred to what is termed the tyrant's *Chaylah* battalions (that is, ſlaves;) theſe are compoſed of ſuch of his own ſubjects as have been condemned to perpetual ſlavery, and ſuch unfortunate captives as he takes in war. The preſent conſiſted chiefly of boys ſurprized in the Carnatic, whom he accuſtomed to military exerciſe, with large ſticks, cut in the ſhape of muſkets. The taſk impoſed upon us (thoſe who refuſed being cruelly flogged) was to inſtruct theſe *Chaylahs* in the manual exerciſe. Our ſituation conſequently became worſe than before; we were obliged to perform an office, which, however ſmall the benefit we took care the practitioners ſhould derive from it, could not

not but cauſe the deepeſt affliction, when we reflected they were the deteſted enemies of our country whom we were compelled to inſtruct in that very art which would prove deſtructive to our countrymen.

After we had been made what was termed Muſſelmen, we neglected no opportunity of evincing our contempt for the religion of our tormentors, and the cruel force they had employed againſt us, by catching dogs, and *bandicoots* (a ſpecies of large rats) and circumciſing them publicly. This operation never failed to exaſperate them, particularly as the dog is held a very impure animal, and it cannot be doubted but we very often owed ſome additional ill uſage to theſe inſults on one of their moſt ſacred rites; ſuch behaviour would have been unpardonable, had not the compelling us to undergo an abhorred operation been ſo

baſe and barbarous an act of oppreſſion, that it was impoſſible to reflect on it with temper, and at leaſt juſtified what might not be abſolutely prudent and ſafe.

In the month of March this year, one of the lately diſciplined Chaylah battalions which Hyder had ordered to join a body of troops deſtined for particular ſervice, encamped at Periapatam, a rock about twenty coſs to the ſouth weſt of Seringapatam, and viſible from the fort. This battalion was accompanied by twelve of the circumciſed Europeans, acting as officers over ſlaves, and probably intended by way of experiment; Hyder imagining, I fancy, that a tacit compliance with his ſervice might be exacted from theſe unfortunate men, although their ſentiments and feelings would not allow them openly and avowedly to acquieſce in it. They had been, however, but

a very

a very ſhort time detached, before four of the Europeans found means to make their eſcape, by eluding the ſentries at night, and immediately entering the *Nyar Jungles*, which lie to the ſouthward of Seringapatam, and from whence, after encountering innumerable dangers and ſuffering incredible hardſhips, they arrived ſafe at Bedanore, commanded by General Matthews, who ſent them to Mangalore, from whence, as I afterwards underſtood, they were removed to Fort St. George, at the time General Matthews was taken; one of theſe poor fellows was ſo much weakened and overcome with fatigue and hunger, that when they were near Bedanore, his legs failed him, nor had the others ſtrength enough to aſſiſt him; having a good conſtitution, he lived till a dooly from the garriſon came to fetch him into the fort. This eſcape, however, proved very fatal to the

the remaining eight, for no ſooner was the flight of their friends diſcovered, than they were marked as victims of revenge. They were accordingly brought out in front of that battalion to which a few hours before they had acted as officers, with their hands tied behind, and received three laſhes with a bunch of tamarind twigs from each of the *Chaylahs*, which, from the number compoſing the battalion, amounted to fifteen hundred laſhes. Thus were innocent men puniſhed to aſſuage the cruel reſentment of diſappointed villains, incenſed becauſe four Europeans had eluded their vigilance, and becauſe they diſcovered that no aſſiſtance was to be derived from the Engliſh captives, nor any truſt to be placed in men who poſſeſſed a right to liberate themſelves by every opportunity that offered: after ſuffering this ſevere flagellation, their hands were ſecured in a log of wood, with

with holes in it, ſomething like ſtocks, and in that ſituation they were ſent to Munclamore, a very high and detached rock, with ſeveral forts on it, about thirty coſs from Seringapatam, in the Chittledroog country. Here one of the unfortunate ſufferers, a Dutchman by birth, expired of the inhuman flogging without having his hands enlarged before his death. After ſix months confinement in Munclamore, on one ſeer of * *raggy* per day, they were ſent back to Seringapatam, and a ſtrict order accompanied them from Hyder, to ſuffer none of the priſoners on any account whatever, to be truſted with detachments in future, but to guard them cloſely and confine them to the exerciſe of the *Chaylahs*, in garriſon.

* A ſmall grain eaten by the natives, not unlike muſtard ſeeds.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Arrival of Colonel Braithwaite's detachment, and of ſeveral ſeamen given up by Suffrein—mortality among the priſoners—death of Colonel Baillie—demiſe of Hyder Ally—he is ſucceeded by Tippoo Sultan—murder of General Matthews.

WHILST the above priſoners ſuffered for the eſcape of four of their friends, the whole of the officers and men of Colonel Braithwaite's detachment in the Tanjore country arrived in captivity, and ſpread a gloom of deſpondence through the ſeveral priſons. Every freſh victory gained by the tyrant naturally ſhifted the proſpect of our deliverance to a greater diſtance, augmented

mented the number of miſerable objects on whom his daily cruelty was wreaked, and rendered him more inſenſible in proportion as he imagined himſelf riſing in power. This detachment ſurrendered on the eighteenth of the preceding February, and conſiſted of about two thouſand effective men. In addition to our miſery, we learnt from theſe unfortunate priſoners, that our army remained in a ſtate of inactivity at the mount.

The number of *Chaylahs* that were confined in the fort together, without ſufficient room to breathe in, and totally diſregarded and ſurrounded by filth which was never removed, created at laſt epidemical diſeaſes, which were fatal to great numbers. The unfortunate Europeans had in this caſe, no better chance than the wretches with whom they were intermixed in one

com

common priſon. It was not until the contagion had raged a conſiderable time with unabated fury, and effected great deſtruction, that they removed us to another priſon on the iſland, where we had a little more room to move in, and enjoyed a purer air than the infected and putrid vapours which we were before ſubject to. As a farther help towards preventing infection, greater care was taken to clean the new priſon, which conſiſted of a ſpacious ſquare, ſituated been the fort and the new village, to the ſouthward of the former, called Gunjam Pet. The temporary comfort which this ſalutary change afforded, was of ſhort duration, for ſcarcely had our drooping ſpirits recovered from the terror of certain death, which ſtared us in the face, and our hopes in ſome degree revived from the diminution of reſtraint, before

8390

a fatal and injurious misrepresentation of our conduct plunged us into new troubles. It was related, Heaven knows from what cause, unless every outward appearance of tolerable spirits displeased our persecutors, that indulgence had rendered us lazy, and that we neglected the instruction and exercise of the *Chaylahs*. It availed nothing that there was no foundation for such a report, no attention was paid to our remonstrances; the killadar sent for us into the fort, ordered the fetters from which we had been exempted, since the initiation into Mahometism, to be replaced, and the guards to drive us back with huge sticks, to our former prison on the island, which being distant near a mile, subjected us to a pretty sound drubbing before we reached it, though we made every expedition. After this, we were obliged to exercise

MYSORE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY
MYSORE

ciſe the *Chaylahs* in heavy irons during a whole month.

Lieutenants Speediman and Rutledge were brought to priſon this year, in the month of July. The fate of theſe gentlemen was uncommonly hard, and the treatment they met with from the cruel conqueror, ſtrangely barbarous, and wantonly different from the other officers. The particulars relative to their capture, &c. as related in a letter from themſelves to their brother officers, are as follows: Having been left wounded at Vellore, in the beginning of the year, they remained in that garriſon until the month of June, when an eſcort of one company of ſepoys, three three-pounders, and a number of Polygars arrived with ſupplies for the fort. Stimulated by military ardor, they had determined, being pretty well recovered of their wounds, to

MYSORE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY
MYSORE

ſeize this opportunity of rejoining the army, to ſhare in the active ſervice of the campaign; but on the ſecond day's march from Vellore, Tippoo with his army came down upon them. It was not until moſt of the Company's ſepoys were wounded, their ammunition nearly expended, and the Polygars had deſerted them, that this ſmall detachment ſurrendered to Tippoo's whole force, by hoiſting a white handkerchief for quarter, which was granted. They received tolerable good uſage in Tippoo's camp, but met with quite the reverſe from Hyder himſelf, who detained them five days, then mixed them with a parcel of Carnatic boys, and diſpatched them to Seringapatam. On their arrival there, they were conſiderably ſurprized not to be confined in the priſon with the other officers, but were almoſt rendered ſpeechleſs, when

when the horrid deſign of circumciſing them became evident. They were marched to the village of Gunjam Pet, and ſecured in a large ſquare building, where they found nine Europeans that had already undergone this abominable operation. Parties from the guard came now every hour of the day to them, ſometimes with promiſes, at others with drawn ſwords, chawbucks, and ropes ready to tie them, and the barber in the rear with ſhaving implements, to exact their conſent to the mutilation. Finding this method ineffectual after trying it for ſeveral days, they hoped by ſeparating the two gentlemen to force a compliance. This proving equally inefficacious, the jemmandar ſeemed to take compaſſion on them, and promiſed to write to Hyder in their behalf; but when they began to imagine the monſtrous purpoſe had been

laid aſide, at leaſt till Hyder's anſwer could be received, they were ſurpriſed on the 27th of Auguſt by a dozen ſtout fellows with chawbucks and as many coffres with ropes, &c. who ſeized them without ceremony, tied them, cut off their hair, and then walked away. On the firſt of September following, the ſame villains returned again, ſeized and tied them, and then compelled them to ſwallow a doſe of *majum*, which diveſted them of ſenſation whilſt they were circumciſed.

Some time after the arrival of theſe gentlemen, ſeven of thoſe that had already been circumciſed, amongſt which number I. was included, were carried again into the fort to diſcipline ſome hundreds of Carnatic boys, lately torn away from their native ſoil. I had not been many days in the fort before fifty

fifty ſeamen arrived from Bangalore, being a part of thoſe given up to Hyder by Admiral Suffrein at Cuddelore in June. Theſe were all choſen young men, picked out from about three hundred that the Admiral gave up, and deſtined for Hyder's army. Meſſrs. Wilſon, Edimon, Auſtine, Whiteway, Drake, Cardman, and Leſage, midſhipmen, were of the number. The youngeſt and handſomeſt of theſe unfortunate men underwent a ſecond ſelection at Seringapatam, and were lodged in the palace, as part of the tyrant's houſehold, where they received tolerable good treatment, were inſtructed in the language of the Eaſt, and taught different arts and exerciſes according to the ſtations they were intended to fill about his perſon, and whenever their tutor went abroad, they attended him. Some of theſe, after the peace,

were intended for dancing boys, and ſent among the *Notch* people to be inſtructed in the manœuvres belonging to that art. Mr. Cadman was one of thoſe to whom the latter choice had fallen, but on account of what they thought refractory behaviour, he was returned to the *Chaylahs*, and was of the party who made their eſcape with me, and has ſince, as I am very happy to hear, got ſafe to Madras. Meſſrs. Wilſon, Ediman, Auſtin, and Whiteway, loſt their lives in the tyrant's dominions ſome years ago. Theſe unfortunate and baſely ſacrificed ſeamen had all been circumciſed, and were conſidered as the unqueſtionable property of Hyder, which no treaty ſhould induce him to give up, having received them from an ally and friend, whoſe buſineſs it would be to anſwer for them, ſhould they ever become the ſubject of

an

an inquiry It was the opinion of the wretched ſufferers that Suffrien had ſold them to the tyrant; they all declared that the Admiral had offered them each a hat full of dollars, if they would do duty on board the French fleet, it being reduced to great ſhifts for want of hands, and they uniformly ſeemed to think that their firm refuſal provoked the admiral to give them up to Hyder; nay, that he had threatened them with doing ſo in caſe of non-compliance. Thirty of them were fortunate enough to eſcape from Arnee immediately after the ſurrender, without even being miſſed, and many more, no doubt, would have got off the ſame way, as they had found means when they were muſtered, to deceive by counting twice for thoſe miſſing in the evening, a trick that could not eaſily be diſcovered as long as their faces

were

have no right to believe that his demiſe was actually brought on by mortal drugs, though the inhuman conqueror certainly was acceſſary to it, by expreſsly witholding medical aid from him during his painful diſeaſe, notwithſtanding repeated applications for that purpoſe, and treating him, from the commencement of his captivity, with exceſſive ſeverity. It cannot therefore be doubted, that he rejoiced in the deceaſe of ſo able and diſtinguiſhed an officer, and that he, perhaps, ſecretly hoped his villainous artifice would anſwer the ſame purpoſe as open violence, though nothing but ſurmiſes can be offered for the conduct that would have been purſued had this ſcheme miſcarried, particularly as Colonel Braithewaite was ſuffered to eſcape. Tippoo's behaviour to General Matthews is by no means a true criterion

terion to judge from, as the whole of that affair is involved in obſcure circumſtances and facts hitherto very partially developed.

Towards the end of the year the tidings of Hyder's demiſe reached Seringapatam. This happened but a very few days after the death of the unfortunate Colonel, ſo that if he died by his order, the barbarian did not himſelf ſurvive the baſe murder. The end of this turbulent and ambitious tyrant gave birth to various ſpeculations and expectations, but was attended with none of thoſe commotions commonly produced by the demiſe of an Eaſtern monarch. His ſon Tippoo Saheb, ſince called Tippoo Sultan, took undiſturbed poſſeſſion of all his father's territories, and the command of vaſt armies, at a time when many diſaffected individuals filled both the camp and

and city. This muſt be eſteemed no contemptible proof of his abilities as a politician as well as a ſoldier; ſuch authority, at leaſt, did his known character carry with it, that no open attempts were made to oppoſe his acceſſion, or divide and circumſcribe his power. Tippoo was with his army, at a conſiderable diſtance from Hyder when he died, but when the information reached him, he haſted to his father's camp, and made ſuch diſpoſitions and arrangements as he judged prudent and neceſſary, without relaxing, in any degree, the vigour with which he carried on the war againſt the Engliſh.

The cuſtomary mournings were obſerved at Seringapatam, but the people ſeemed not to regret the loſs of their ruler. His remains were not brought to the capital till three months after his death,

death, and interred in the part of the iſland which is called the Lollbaug garden. The uſual obſequies of eaſtern monarchs were profuſely beſtowed on this occaſion, and conſiſted chiefly in charities to the indigent, and magnificent erections to the deceaſed.

One of Tippoo's firſt ſteps towards ſecuring and ſtrengthening his government, was to place a new killadar in Seringapatam. He brought with him a battalion of ſepoys to enforce his authority, and to remove any impediments which he might encounter in poſſeſſing himſelf of his office. The Europeans had every cauſe imaginable to be afflicted at this change, for the new killadar, Syud Mahomed Khan, turned out the greateſt ſcourge we had yet met with, neglecting no opportunity to ſatiate the bent of his inclination, which delighted in cruelty. The old

old killadar, (by name Siddeboy) who often had ſhewn us mercy when it depended upon him, and he could do it with ſafety, (for it is dangerous to be compaſſionate and poſſeſſed of feelings in the ſervice of a tyrant) was ſhortly after impriſoned in irons, and remained ſo for a conſiderable time, probably to render him incapable of being dangerous, as his brother Hyder Saheb had betrayed Bedanore, and gone over to General Matthews, ſhortly after Hyder's death. This man, though of known fidelity and attachment to Hyder's government, turned traitor (I have been informed) in his own defence, the inſtant his former maſter expired, and took refuge with the Engliſh to provide for his own ſafety, dreading the reſentment of the new ruler, who had threatened, and who, he was well aſſured, would have ſacrificed him to his anger,

anger, being exaſperated on account of a chaſtiſement which, by order of Hyder, he had given Tippoo when a young boy, and for which his unforgiving temper baſely meditated vengeance on the innocent executor of the order of a father.

The hopes which had been indulged when the death of Hyder became public, founded on the expectation of a favourable change in our affairs, through the mildneſs of Tippoo's temper, who had hitherto borne a character for humanity, and on the probability of his being unable to proſecute the war after an event productive in general of great revolutions in this country, quickly vaniſhed; and it was ſoon diſcovered, that if Tippoo did not ſurpaſs, he at leaſt equalled his father in averſion and hatred to the Europeans; that his character had not

hitherto appeared in a true light, but that now, when he found it no longer neceſſary to diſſemble or conciliate the affections of his father's ſubjects, he threw aſide the maſk, and ſhewed himſelf in his genuine colours; it was alſo found that he could, and actually did, carry on the war with unabated vigour.

In the month of February, 1783, Lieutenant Frazer, (Colonel Baillie's brigade major) and Captain Rumley, who had both been confined with the Colonel, but had not any ſuſpicions of his being poiſoned, as is evident from a letter which they wrote to the other officers, and a Lieutenant Sampſon, of Colonel Braithwaite's detachment, were ſent in a very myſterious manner to Myſore.

I alſo learnt, about this time, that Lieutenants Speediman and Rutledge were

were under very ſevere confinement and in heavy irons at Gunjum Pet, in conſequence of an attempt to eſcape: their ſcheme was to have made a hole in the priſon wall, being confined in a ſeparate apartment whilſt under cure for circumciſion. Nothing but deſpair, however, could have inſpired the reſolution, there not being the ſmalleſt probability of getting away had they even ſucceeded in breaking the wall, which never was effected, as a black ſervant belonging to Lieutenant Rutledge betrayed them. They were conſequently detected in the fact, and ſecured as above-mentioned, without any other ſubſiſtence than what their fellow priſoners afforded them. When they had been two months tortured in this diſgraceful manner, they were ordered to drill the *Chaylahs*.

The deplorable loſs of Nagram, or Bedanore, was one of the heavy diſ-

aſters which ſignalized the beginning of this year. Early in the month of May the whole of Tippoo's capital rung with ſhouts and rejoicings in conſequence of this re-capture; ſugar and ſweetmeats were carried about the town in baſkets, and diſtributed to the inhabitants under the diſcharge of cannon. I do not recollect the ſpirits of the priſoners to be ſo much depreſſed at any one time during the whole of my captivity as on this mournful occaſion. The loſs of Bedanore had vexed Tippoo exceedingly, nor was he chagrined without very good cauſe, as his capital had been expoſed during the abſence of his armies from the rapid progreſs of General Matthews, who aſſuredly would have penetrated to the very gates of Seringapatam, had he been informed of the true ſtate of affairs; where not only the European priſoners, but the cap-

captive natives, and as afterwards appeared, a formidable conſpiracy, would have been ready to forward his enterprize, and no force to oppoſe him. By the capture of General Matthews and his army in a moſt inglorious manner, the tyrant was delivered from every future apprehenſion, and enabled to exact more imperious terms ſhould a peace be propoſed. In ſhort, the diſaſtrous conſequences of this loſs, to a part of which we had the mortification of being eye-witneſſes, preſented themſelves in ſuch diſheartening colours, and dejected us ſo much, that a long time elapſed before we recovered any tolerable degree of compoſure. To add acuteneſs to our diſtreſs, we were deſired, or rather compelled, to partake of the ſweetmeats prepared for the rejoicings, and our poſitive refuſal was conſtrued into

a ſtubborneſs which deſerved correction; accordingly our evil genius, the baſe and dark-minded killadar, determined to make us feel the effects of his diſpleaſure. He ordered us in future into the ranks with the *Chaylahs*, (hitherto having only ſuperintended them) prohibited every ſpecies of intercourſe and communication with each other, even that of converſing together in public, and conſigned us to the charge of ſentries, who confined us in a ſquare building the whole day without any food. Terrified at this extraordinary, unprovoked, and ſudden change of treatment, and very ſenſible that paſſive ſubmiſſion only would ſerve to render our enemies more oppreſſive and inexorable, we reſolved towards the evening to be informed of our deſtiny. Having forced the ſentries placed over us, we proceeded in a body to the kil-

killadar's quarters, and remonſtrated in the moſt ſubmiſſive terms againſt the cruelty of ſtarving and tormenting us without any real cauſe. He took not the ſmalleſt notice, however, of our complaint, but ordered a party of ſepoys to ſurround us, and tie us with ropes; after which he ordered us, one by one, to be ſcourged in his preſence, until his ſavage diſpoſition was glutted with the groans extorted from us. Enſign Clark, who had ſtood our ſpeaker on this occaſion, being well verſed in the Hindoſtany, or Moor language, was firſt on the liſt, and moſt inhumanly flogged, a few only eſcaped by the unmerciful barbarian's growing tired of the ſport. We were kept the whole of this night and the ſucceeding day, in the open air, bound and expoſed to the burning ſun. On the ſecond evening ſome victuals were diſtributed

amongſt us, when we were diſperſed in different places amongſt the ſlaves, and treated with uncommon rigour for a long time afterwards.

A ſingular ſpecies of cruelty, that had no other object in view than wanton malice, and the barbarous delight our villains conſtantly took in tormenting and inſulting the Engliſh priſoners, occurred about this time. Four European women, with their huſbands, belonging to the Bedanore garriſon, were brought to Seringapatam, where they were torn from the men, whom the villains ſent to Chittledroog, and afterwards allotted the women to four of the black ſlaves. Two became the property of the natives of Myſore, and the other two became the property of a couple of abominable Abyſſinians, with whom they were compelled to live. I ſaw theſe women myſelf,

myſelf, they were good-looking females, but pity was all the aſſiſtance I was able to afford them. It would, indeed, make too large a regiſter of horrors, to enumerate every particular inſtance in which theſe unfeeling men treated us with inhumanity.

A conſpiracy againſt the uſurper was diſcovered in the month of Auguſt this year, and muſt have alarmed him conſiderably, as it evidently teſtified the diſpoſitions of ſome, if not of all his ſubjects. The project was planned, I underſtood, with much precaution and judgement, and it was intended that the European priſoners ſhould be admitted to a ſhare in the enterprize, which had nothing leſs in view than to reſtore the reins of government to the ancient race of Myſore, and emancipate the preſent king from the ſhackles of the regency One of the conſpirators betrayed the plot, on the very eve of

of its execution, by which he ſaved himſelf, and brought his aſſociates to the moſt excruciating tortures, and the moſt dreadful ends, ſuch as being dragged to death at the heels of elephants, &c. It is to be regretted that this ſcheme miſcarried, as much effuſion of blood, and many lamentable cataſtrophes, as well at that time as in the preſent war, would by this means have been averted, and our ſourthern poſſeſſions been delivered from an inveterate and faithleſs neighbour. It was a matter of much aſtoniſhment, that the priſoners all eſcaped ſuſpicion on this occaſion, though it muſt certainly have been their preſence which encouraged the project, nor is it to be credited, that none of them were in the ſecret.

The peace which actually took place, began to be rumoured towards the end of this year, but we had heard ſuch frequent and various reports of this nature,

ture, all of which had proved to be groundleſs conjecture or ſimple inventions, that the comforts which theſe reports had yielded at firſt, had worn away, and we liſtened to the news of peace with the ſame diſtruſt that we uſed to attend to the violated promiſes which from time to time were made to us by our tormentors.

The month of September this year 1793, was diſtinguiſhed by the inhuman murder of General Matthews, who was certainly poiſoned in a very barbarous manner, being ſtarved until he had conſented to eat of the food which he had diſcovered contained poiſon. He refuſed for ſeveral days to taſte nouriſhment, but hunger ſurmounted at laſt the deſire of protracting a miſerable exiſtence, and he ſwallowed a plentiful portion of the victuals prepared for him, and in a few hours after expired in violent convulſions. I am the better

better enabled to aſſert this fact, having ſince converſed with the General's two European ſervants, who, after being kept long in ſuſpenſe, were ſuffered to live, and confirmed the fact. Much was ſaid amongſt the priſoners, and much, no doubt, has gone abroad into the world concerning the whole of Tippoo's behaviour to the unfortunate General, which commenced with a baſe breach of faith, and cloſed with a barbarous murder. His baſe and cruel conduct has, no doubt, been expoſed in all the colours which can render guilt odious, but I do not find that it has ever been impartially ſuggeſted by our countrymen, how much it was ſurmiſed that Tippoo, barbarian and tyrant as he is, nevertheleſs did not make himſelf guilty in the *firſt* violation of the Bedanore capitulation.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Removal of the priſoners from Seringapatam to Myſore—various expeditions of Tippoo againſt the tributaries of the Nizam—cruel treatment of the priſoners—marriage of Tippoo's eldeſt ſon—his intolerance to his Hindoo ſubjects—his attack upon the Rajah of Travancore—rupture between him and the Engliſh—approach of General Meadows—action with Colonel Floyd—the priſoners conducted to the hill forts.

IN the month of December following, all the circumciſed Europeans in Seringapatam were removed to Myſore,

ſore, the ancient capital of the kingdom, but at that time an inſignificant little fort about ſeven miles to the ſouthward of Seringapatam, which Tippoo has ſince demoliſhed, and erected a new and ſtronger one a little to the eaſtward of the former, called Sultan Killah. On our arrival here, we were cloſely confined, and in the very room where Captain Rumley and Lieutenants Frazer and Sampſon, whoſe deaths had already been whiſpered about the city, were murdered, ſhortly before, by the order of Tippoo.

When we diſcovered ourſelves to be not only in the ſame danger, but guarded by the very ſame aſſaſſins who had imbrued their hands in the blood of theſe gentlemen, we could no longer ſuppreſs our terrors. It now recurred to us what had often been aſſerted, that

Tippoo

Tippoo never would ſuffer any Britiſh captives to return, being determined to put all ſuch to death who ſhould ſurvive his cruel treatment. The murder of General Matthews's officers, which had been circulated at Seringapatam, and was credited by us all, contributed to confirm this ſuſpicion. In ſhort, it appeared evident that our extirpation was reſolved upon, on which account we unanimouſly determined to annihilate as many of Tippoo's hired aſſaſſins as we could, until ſuperior numbers ſhould cruſh us. At this time, however, our alarms proved groundleſs, and Tippoo's real view in ſending us hither, ſeemed to be nothing more than to keep us out of the way whilſt peace was in agitation, that we might have no opportunity of making our ſituations known, and conſequently be included in the number

ber of thoſe who at laſt eſcaped his clutches. It is impoſſible, however, to determine what would have been our fate, had our releaſe been inſiſted on with ſufficient earneſtneſs to provoke his anger.

The commander of our guard had a ſlave, from whom we learnt the following particulars concerning the deteſtable murder of the above-mentioned gentlemen. Captain Rumley, when he found that he would be conſtrained to ſwallow poiſon, put an end to his own exiſtence rather than ſubmit; and Lieutenant Sampſon, having ſnatched up a large piece of wood that chanced to be within his reach, laid ſo furiouſly and reſolutely about him, that the cowardly murderers, afraid of approaching, threw a ſtone at him from ſome diſtance, which met his head with a mortal blow. Lieutenant Frazer alone

alone was ſecured, and had poiſon forced down his throat, of which he ſoon after died.

After four months confinement at Myſore we were marched back to Seringapatam. Tippoo had then returned to his capital, and peace with the Engliſh was concluded. Our numbers at this time amounted to eighty, being the ſurvivors of ſuch as from time to time had been dragged out of the Seringapatam priſons, and circumciſed. The ſeamen, except thoſe ſelected for the palace, are included in this liſt. I have ſince learnt, that every priſon throughout the tyrant's dominions had in like manner been drained of the ill-fated Engliſhmen that were detained in captivity.

It is difficult for thoſe who never experienced ſimilar calamities to form any adequate or juſt conception of our

deſpondence, in finding ourſelves, when peace was reſtored, for ever ſecluded from our country and friends. The hopes of one day rejoining thoſe to whom we might relate our adverſities in ſafety, and enjoy the pleaſing reflections of having ſurmounted ſufferings incurred in the cauſe and ſervice of our country, had hitherto ſupported us againſt every misfortune. A general reſtoration of priſoners had been the baſis of the peace, but our rulers found themſelves reduced to connive at the moſt flagrant infringement of this article.

We were now poſted to the different *Chaylah* battalions in the capacity of havildars, and received ſeven rupees per month. Lieutenants Speediman and Rutledge were appointed ſubadars. Lieutenant Brunton, who came up to Seringapatam at the ſame time with my-

myſelf, and Enſign Gordon, a gentleman who had been a long time confined at Chittledroog, were liberated.

When I was moved to Myſore, two Europeans, one named O'Bryan, from the ſame company of Bengal artillery to which I had belonged, the other a ſerjeant of the Madras eſtabliſhment, taken in the Pollams, where Colonel Owen commanded, were compelled to perform the office of common coolies, and to carry dirt in the ſtreets of Seringapatam, becauſe they had attempted to eſcape ſhortly after they were captured, and at that time killed or wounded one or two of the guards that ſurprized them. On my return theſe two men exiſted no more; they had been aſſaſſinated by the ſultan's order, together with a native girl and two children belonging to the ſerjeant.

Our confinement was ſtill continued with its former rigour and circum-

ſpection; we were ſcarcely allowed, at firſt, to look out of our priſon, and for near three years ſucceeding the peace our ſlavery ſuffered little or no relaxation. We were not, in general, allowed to ſtir, even on the moſt preſſing occaſions, without a ſentry to accompany us; nor ſhould we at any time during that period have been permitted to walk about freely, if the officers who were entruſted with the charge of us, and reſponſible for our appearance, had not at times indulged us with with ſome liberty, truſting, I ſuppoſe, to the impoſſibility of our getting away.

Our firſt excurſion, after being repoſted in the manner already mentioned to the *Chaylah* battalions, was to a ſmall fort called Chindrapattah, on the Bedanore road, about twenty miles weſtward of Seringapatam, where we remained inactive during ſix months, and

and were then remanded to Seringapatam. During our ſtay at Chindrapattah, Enſign Clark, who held no higher ſtation than one of us, expired in conſequence of a violent beating from one of the ſubadars, whoſe cruelty he had provoked by ſome retorting language. Mr. Clark's body turned entirely black before he died, but no inquiry was inſtituted in conſequence, our lives not being of ſufficient importance to cauſe an inveſtigation. Mr. Ediman, the midſhipman, likewiſe quitted his miſerable exiſtence at this place, of a natural death indeed, but very prematurely brought on.

When we returned to Seringapatam, we were transferred from the *Chaylahs* to the Malabar Roman Catholic Chriſtians, conſiſting originally of about 40,000 unfortunate wretches, men, women, and children, forced away from the Bedanore and Mangalore countries

in 1784, and compelled to embrace Mahometiſm, not, however, without exhibiting ſeveral martyrs in ſupport of a doctrine with which they had no farther acquaintance than what conſiſted in counting a row of beads, and performing genuflexions before a crucified image. The corps, or battalion of theſe wretches, to which I had been poſted, was ſoon afterwards ſent to Myſore, where it remained five months, and then returned. Theſe marches had nothing in view but to keep the unfortunate enſlaved ſoldiers (a name which they, however, did not deſerve) in employ, and to break any combinations which might have been formed.

The Engliſh peace concluded in 1784, no ſooner left Tippoo at liberty, than his turbulent ſpirit preſented as a convenient object for his rapacious ambition, the territories of Mouberjung, lying about twenty days journey to the north-

northward of Seringapatam, and tributary to the nizam. Tippoo accordingly marched (the deſire of conqueſt being a ſufficient reaſon with him for making war) with an army, computed to be one hundred thouſand ſtrong, againſt Mouberjung's capital, called after the country Hydona, to which he laid ſiege after having ſubjected the frontiers, through which he ſpread terror and devaſtation. The nizam ſent a body of cavalry to the aſſiſtance of Mouberjung, which induced Tippoo to abandon the ſiege; but he had already, it ſeems, impreſſed the latter with fears too lively to be erazed. The coaſt was therefore no ſooner clear, before Mouberjung decamped to Hydrabad with his family and jewels, which had already ſo narrowly eſcaped falling into the hands of the invader, leaving him to take undiſturbed poſſeſſion of the fort of Hydona, which he totally

demoliſhed, the pettah having been plundered and nearly conſumed by fire in an aſſault prior to the arrival of the auxiliary troops. I collected this information from the Europeans whom Tippoo had carried along with him, four of the Malabar Chriſtian battalions having been employed on this occaſion, to which thirty of the captive Europeans were attached.

As it was difficult, in an enemy's country, to guard men who had both courage and cunning ſufficient to attempt a flight, five of the employed Europeans found means to elude all the circumſpection and vigilance of their obſervers, and fled to Mouberjung. One of General Matthews's ſervants was amongſt theſe deſerters. The ſultan determined immediately to ſend the remainder back loaded with chains, and under a very ſtrict confinement, and purſuant to his conſtant practice of

wreak-

wreaking his vengeance on the whole of us, theſe men no ſooner arrived at Seringapatam than we ſhared their fate. Amongſt many other ſevere puniſhments which we underwent on this occaſion, without having been admitted to a chance of ſharing in the tranſgreſſion of thoſe for whom we ſuffered, was that of reducing our late allowance to barely one ſeer of very bad rice daily, great part of which we were obliged to diſpoſe of ſolely to procure fire-wood and ſalt for the reſt.

Under the alarming apprehenſions which this circumſtance created, and when we expected nothing leſs than to be either maſſacred on the ſpot, or diſtributed among thoſe hill forts from which no unfortunate exile was ever known to return, our terror received additional force from the eſcape of two of our companions, who found means to paſs the ſentries in the night,

and

and eſcaped, notwithſtanding the vigilance of their guards. The greateſt difficulty, it muſt be obſerved, conſiſted in getting out of priſon, for the inhabitants of Seringapatam had for many years been ſo familiarized to the ſight of Europeans in the ſtreets, that little obſtruction was to be apprehended from the people, many of them being our well-wiſhers. Our confinement became after this infinitely more ſtrict, and almoſt inſupportably oppreſſive. The very guards dreaded the charge of us, being puniſhed ſeverely for every one that eſcaped, and were conſequently inſtigated by fear as much as inclination to treat us harſhly. In ten days, however, one of the fugitives being brought back to Seringapatam, our ſituations were made leſs irkſome. Both had been retaken near Tellicherry, but one had availed himſelf of the opportunity, when he was drinking water

water out of the river, to knock down the centinel that accompanied him, and then plunged into it and ſwam away. The unfortunate fellow that was brought back paid for the natural privilege of having made uſe of his legs with his noſe and ears, after which he was led round the fort on a jack-aſs with his face to the tail, and condemned to labour among the native ſmiths, who obliged him to blow the bellows for them. No account was ever received of the other. Two of thoſe Europeans whom Tippoo employed as armourers alſo attempted to eſcape at this time by ſwimming over the Coleroon; but it happened unfortunately that a guard was placed on the very ſpot where they gained the land, by which their deſign was diſcovered. One of theſe men had formerly been a midſhipman, and died at Seringapatam in Auguſt 1790.

In

In this dreadful ſtate of ſuſpenſe we remained during five months, when Tippoo returned from the invaſion of Hydona. He had poſſeſſed himſelf on that expedition, beſides plunder, of a country extending about fifty or ſixty coſs beyond Copaul, and almoſt as far as the Kiſtna, having, independent of the greateſt part of Hydona, taken Durbar and other places from the Mahrattas, all of which he held in ſubjection until the preſent war broke out. It was ſaid, that Tippoo alledged the Nizam's refuſal of his daughter, and Mouberjung of his ſiſter, for his ſon, as a pretext for the war. The propoſal had been rejected with contempt, the young Myſorean being of too mean an origin to aſpire at mixing his blood with that which flowed in veins of ſuch high deſcent.

Soon

Soon after the tyrant's return we were divided into three parties and diſperſed; one was ſent to Bedanore, another to Chittledroog, which lies to the northward of Seringapatam, not far from Copaul, and the third, to which I belonged, remained in the city. Thoſe that went away were in irons; we that were reſerved were at firſt poſted to a battalion of *Coorikies*, a people lying in the woods, whom Tippoo had enſlaved; but in conſequence of the frequent complaints and unfavourable repreſentations which our black officers made of our conduct, we were ſubdivided anew into four parties, one of which remained with the *Coorikies*, another was poſted to a battalion of *Moplas*, and the other two incorporated with the Malabar Chriſtians. It was thought, not without ſome reaſon, that the fewer of us were together the more tractable we ſhould be. As we had

often experienced the vanity of expecting any other redreſs for the ill uſage and injuries of our commanders, than what we could procure for ourſelves, ſo, whenever twelve or fifteen of us were together, and they grew too intolerable, we uſed to beat the whole battalion, guards and all, out of the ſquare, and make terms before we ceaſed hoſtilities. I have frequently known theſe effects of mere deſpair take place, and the officers, aſhamed of their own puſillanimity, would not make theſe little mutinies known, but they took care, in general, to be even with us, and charged us with ſome other offence, of which we had never perhaps thought.

Our allowance, which ſince the peace had been ſeven rupees per month, unleſs when in diſgrace, was at this time reduced to ſix rupees in forty-five days, which is the term of Tippoo's mili-

tary

tary month, according to which he pays his troops: this paltry ſtipend was, however, irregularly paid, and never at a ſhorter period than fifty days, frequently a longer period, which was a ſmall addition to the month, of the paymaſter's contrivance, as it reduced us to extreme diſtreſs at times, and the neceſſity of borrowing the money from him which was actually due to us: this ſcheme was ſo much to his liking, that he frequently kept us in long arrears on pretence of being without money, in order to oblige us to have recourſe to his aid, which he afforded in conſideration of a deduction of one-half in advancing what it was his duty to have paid long before. I ſhall here mention a ſpecies of unkingly chicanery, by which Tippoo himſelf manages to cheat his troops out of great part of their pay. He keeps them three or four months in arrears, or until

until they begin to be very much diſtreſſed for money; and then allows his treaſurer, or ſome other perſon, with his money, to make them advances at a very exorbitant diſcount till the pay is iſſued, which generally takes place ſoon afterwards, and the profits of this political robbery accrues to himſelf. When we now reflect that they are bound always to receive one-fourth of their pay in grain, which generally conſiſts of what has been damaged as ſtores, and which the ſepoys are obliged to throw away, and that the treaſurer, or pay-jobber, probably expects or exacts ſomething for himſelf over and above what goes into the ſultan's coffers, we may naturally conclude, that the army is neither well paid, nor well ſatisfied, and that nothing but fear, want of unanimity and bold leaders, not to omit the unqueſtionable vigilance and abilities of the tyrant, pre-

prevents them from revolting. I am confident, from what I have ſeen, that he will ſome time or other feel the ill effects of their diſcontent.

In conſequence of what has been ſaid, we found ourſelves ſo much diſtreſſed at one time for the moſt indiſpenſable neceſſaries of life, that our party ventured on a ſtep, for the ſake of procuring temporary relief, which expoſed the whole to the imminent danger of a moſt ignominious death. It was ſuggeſted to ſome one of the ingenious and bold priſoners, at the time of the Moherrum, to ſteal out of priſon in the night, and when riot and intoxication had lulled the pious Muſſulmen to reſt, to rob the temples of the little ſilver hands which are offered during the feſtival by the munificent bigots, and then to re-enter the priſon in the ſame clandeſtine manner. We were all privy to this daring enterprize,

and were all to ſhare equal in the benefit of its ſucceſs; great precaution was therefore taken to avoid diſcovery, and to aſſiſt the reſolute undertaker in effecting his purpoſe unobſerved. I confeſs that I was not leſs rejoiced than aſtoniſhed at his good fortune when I ſaw him return before day, not only undiſcovered, but furniſhed with a dozen of the ſilver relicks which he had ſafely purloined. We melted down the ſilver with all imaginable ſecrecy, and ſold it ſome time afterwards, which afforded a very ſeaſonable relief. We had, however, never afterwards, even when leſs vigilantly watched, an opportunity of repeating this theft, the ſucceſs of which I never ſufficiently could admire, as mere deſpair had inſpired the attempt.

In the year 1788, ſix of Tippoo's chiefs and a bramin were hanged at Seringapatam for being ſuſpected of carrying

rying on a treacherous correſpondence with the Engliſh. A letter to Lieutenant Rutledge had been found on the bramin, and interpreted by Serjeant Dempſter, who has ſince informed me that it was ſimply a letter from the gentleman's mother, or ſome other relation, which the bramin, who came from the Carnatic, had engaged to deliver, but that it was accompanied by a ſhort note from one of Lieutenant Rutledge's friends, lamenting that he was no longer able, from want of opportunities, to write to him as formerly. This note produced all the miſchief, for it betrayed a prior correſpondence, which was ſufficient to rouſe diſtruſt and ſuſpicion in the jealous mind of Tippoo. Lieutenant Rutledge was, in conſequence of this diſcovery, loaded with fetters, and ſent to Nundidroog, a high and ſcarped rock, where he was confined on the very ſummit under a little

chopper or ſhed, raiſed for the purpoſe, and only allowed about the ſpace of ten yards to move in, with three quarters of a ſeer of *raggy* and a few chillies to ſubſiſt on. In this dreadful ſituation he ſpun out a miſerable exiſtence nearly two years, when he was ſhot on the rock, for contriving to tranſmit a written requeſt to borrow four fanams of the priſoners at Seringapatam. This unfortunate gentleman has left a ſon behind him in Tippoo's dominions. I learnt the particulars of Lieutenant Rutledge's death from a farrier who had been confined on the ſame rock, but removed to Seringapatam in conſequence of the indiſpoſition of one of Tippoo's favourite Arabian horſes, and is the only perſon, I have been informed, that was ever known to return from any of theſe forts. He declared, that he had been hoiſted up to the top blind-folded, that there is but

but one narrow path down, which he perceived completely lined with ſentries, and that a fort guarded the aſcent ſome diſtance below the ſummit. No perſon, he added, except their guards, could, or were allowed to approach the priſoners. We were, as uſual, all of us involved in Lieutenant Rutledge's diſaſter on the diſcovery of the letter, and puniſhed with cloſe confinement and the loſs of our allowance for two months, during which time we lived on charity, and learnt to ſubſiſt ſeveral days without food.

An European, named White, having eſcaped from Bangalore the firſt year after the peace, for the ſecond time, ſeven other European priſoners, alſo confined at that place, were, on account of this circumſtance, put in irons and ſent to Sunderdroog, a fort to the north-eaſt of Seringapatam, and about twenty miles to the weſtward of Bangalore.

Theſe unfortunate men continued under a very ſevere arreſt on one ſeer of *raggy* and half a pice per day for themſelves and families, (women and children that were taken with them) until the year 1789, when, after ſuffering during four years all the rigour of ſlavery, fetters, and hunger, they were finally dragged into the woods and hanged. Their women were afterwards brought to Seringapatam, and related the deplorable cataſtrophe of their maſters—Nothing could be more ſhocking, more inhuman, and more baſe, than to preſerve a tormenting exiſtence to innocent men ſeveral years, for the ſole purpoſe of murdering them at laſt.

I was never able to diſcover when or in what manner the above-mentioned White got into Tippoo's ſervice, but he was there when the war began, and tho' a Briton, he ſtrained every nerve to injure and diſtreſs the Engliſh captives.

Through

Through his treachery it was diſcovered, that the captive officers had contrived to carry on ſome contraband tranſactions, which ſubjected them to examinations and reſtraints they never could account for, and might have endangered their exiſtence, had any diſcoveries been made, as the tyrant wanted very little pretext for murdering men who were obnoxious to him. He originally perſuaded Tippoo to retain ſuch of the priſoners as were mechanics, and pointed out thoſe whom he judged fit objects for this purpoſe. Many, therefore, are indebted to him and his diabolical exertions for the perpetual loſs of liberty, and finally of their lives. Tippoo was latterly much prejudiced againſt this man, and would certainly, in ſome degree, have beſtowed on him the fate he deſerved, by hanging him, had he not ſaved himſelf by flight, for he had played his patron

ſeveral provoking tricks, particularly pretending ſkill in caſting cannon; for when Tippoo had expended a great deal of money on a foundry and the neceſſary requiſites, he manifeſted his ignorance in ſpoiling all the metal: I am happy to find this miſcreant is now a priſoner at Madras. The vexations reſulting from White's ſtupidity were amply compenſated, however, ſhortly after, by the arrival of thirty artiſts from France, ſent out by the court of Verſailles with a view to inſtruct Tippoo's ſubjects in manufactures, and aiding this Aſiatic ally of France with mechanical knowledge, which as yet has made ſlow progreſs in his own dominions, as well as every other part of India. They were, no doubt, an earneſt of the ſtipulated ſupport and aſſiſtance in the projected war with us, of which he has ſince been ſo juſtly diſappointed. Two men of each profeſſion

feſſion, or trade, were ſent out, and conſiſted chiefly of ſuch as were not to be found amongſt his own ſubjects, namely, founders, glaſs-blowers, watch-makers, armourers, broad-cloth weavers, &c. amongſt the reſt five ſugar bakers, a doctor, and a ſurgeon—I believe theſe people arrived with the ambaſſadors.

In the beginning of 1789, ſix men, whom we had not heard of before, were brought from Chittledroog to Seringapatam; this ſufficiently evinces, that many more Europeans than what are ſuſpected are concealed in Tippoo's dominions. Theſe men were, ſoon after their arrival, carried out of the fort in irons into a wood near the iſland, where they were hanged. They had belonged to the Bedanore garriſon which capitulated: what induced the barbarous conqueror to murder theſe men in cold blood I never was able to diſcover.

Soon

Soon after Tippoo again collected his forces, amounting, if report may be credited, to above 100,000; it is difficult, however, to aſcertain the real number of an Indian army, which is always magnified very much beyond its reality; it would ſeem that a lack, or 100,000, when applied to an army, has a very unlimited meaning, and ſignifies nothing more than a pretty large body; for having ſo frequently known the term applied to leſs than half the number, and ſcarcely ever heard of an Indian army of any note which was not exaggerated, I conclude it to be no more than a figure by which the relator means to convey his alarms: it muſt, notwithſtanding, be confeſſed, that a great body of troops were collected, and that eight battalions of *Chaylahs* accompanied them. Tippoo marched down the Gauts as ſoon as the army

was

was equipped, without divulging his intentions.

We heard nothing of this new expedition, or Tippoo's movements, for a conſiderable time; when, at laſt, orders were received at the capital to prepare for the nuptials of his ſon, a ſtout boy about ſeventeen years of age, who was now to eſpouſe the daughter of the Queen of Cannanore, ſince the Nizam had diſdainfully rejected him for a ſon-in-law; orders were alſo received at the ſame time to arrange matters preparatory to the father's inauguration, as "*Sultaun of the Eaſt*," the title which he in future intended to aſſume, and in which quality he meditated nothing leſs than the ſubjection of all India. He likewiſe iſſued a proclamation, prohibiting all marriages in the kingdom of Myſore until ſuch time as the wedding of his ſon ſhould take place, being determined to celebrate

brate that day by the conſummation of 25,000 marriages at his own charge. To be ignorant of every other feature in the character of this extraordinary man, and to be informed of this circumſtance alone, would certainly inſpire a high opinion of his munificence, liberality, and philanthropy, but the moment we are told that he tarniſhed all the glory which accompanied ſuch a ſplendid act, by a piece of contemptible, fanatical, and tyrannical deſpotiſm, compelling 100,000 of his defenceleſs Hindoo ſubjects to embrace Mahometiſm on the ſame day, our admiration changes into merited deteſtation.

It is his conſtant and favourite practice to inſult and perſecute the Hindoos on the ſcore of religion: he has demoliſhed many of their temples and ſanctified places of worſhip, particularly a much-revered pagoda near the bazar of Seringapatam, where he found,

it

it is aſſerted, 150,000 coined pagodas, buried under the ſtone out of which the oval was hewn. He frequently orders calves to be brought before the doors of their temples, and ſheds the ſacred blood under the very noſe of the offended deity. Such as are acquainted with the enthuſiaſtic attachment of the Hindoos to their ancient religion and its rites, and their veneration for both, will gueſs at the extreme horror with which ſuch frightful ſacrileges muſt fill them, and will eaſily be perſuaded that Tippoo, as I have once obſerved, is deteſted by the majority of his ſubjects, and will only aſcribe their patience and ſubmiſſion to the known indolence and abject tameneſs of the Indians, who are awed by the vaſt armies he has hitherto contrived to maintain, and the known ſeverity with which he ever puniſhes the bare appearance of defection.

His

His orders for the ſolemnization of the marriage created a general buſtle and tumult throughout the city; every individual that could perform any thing curious or clever was employed, not only on their new ſultan's account, but all ſuch as propoſed diſplaying their adulation, and court their ſovereign by magnificent preſents on the occaſion, and ſuch alſo as hoped, by a diſguiſed bribe, to inſinuate themſelves into favour, and pave the road to future preferment. The palace of old Hyder was demoliſhed, and in the rear of it was begun a more extenſive and magnificent one of a triangular form, and fronting a famous pagoda in the center of the fort: in this the proud Myſorean propoſed to be inaugurated. Having been preſented by the court of France with four large and curious cryſtal pedeſtals, theſe were to ſupport his

his throne. This royal ſeat was to be ſuperbly decorated, and built by Europeans; but neither the palace nor the throne were finiſhed when I left Seringapatam. The preſent war ſeems to have retarded theſe deſigns, and the intelligence of Tippoo's repulſe at the Travancore lines put a total ſtop to the immenſe preparations which for a time had engroſſed the whole attention of the capital; the wall that ſurrounded the area of the new palace was alone ſuffered to be finiſhed; it is one mile in circumference, with a large gate on each ſide, the principal and grandeſt of which faces the above-mentioned pagoda. It is very uncertain when the ſplendid edifice itſelf will be finiſhed, as all farther thoughts about it are ſuſpended, and will not be reſumed until the preſent war is terminated, on the iſſue of which Tippoo's future glory and fate ſeem to

hang

hang. So ſenſible and convinced was he of the deciſive conſequences of a war raſhly undertaken with reſpect to himſelf and his ambitious projects, that he no ſooner diſcovered the expected and ſtipulated aids from France would fail, and the exertions of his enemies ſo much exceed what he had believed, than he ſeriouſly repented his wanton breach of treaty, not from principles of good faith or juſtice, but from apprehenſion of its effects to his own intereſt: it is to be hoped, that he will never again remain in a ſtate to diſturb the tranquility of India.

The loſs of his great ſeal, turban, and palanquin, captured in the beforementioned repulſe, together with ſeveral valuable jewels, and the narrow eſcape of his own perſon, had a very diſheartening tendency upon his creatures in the capital, and gave riſe to very ignominious interpretations from the

the diſcontented. It was allowed that he would certainly have fallen into his enemies hands if a mean diſguiſe had not protected him; the very bearers of his palanquin were cut down ſome moments after he had deſerted it; he was attempting to ſurprize a defended ditch at ſome diſtance from the Travancore lines, when this unexpected ſally was made, and had nearly put a period to his career.

Tippoo having thought proper to ſubſtitute another inſcription on his new ſignet, this circumſtance gave freſh alarms at Seringapatam, and many took it for granted the tyrant had been either killed or dethroned, and the ſupreme authority aſſumed by ſome other perſon; but the general anxiety diſſipated when a new ſtate palanquin was diſpatched with great pomp, to be the ſumptuous and future vehicle of an upſtart ſultan.

When he had carried the long-diſputed point againſt Travancore, which took up about twice the time he had conjectured, he returned to his capital, and was received with all the ſplendour of a conqueror; triumphal arches filled the ſtreets through which he paſſed, and the decorations which had been originally deſtined to grace the nuptials of his ſon, were diſplayed on this occaſion. On his arrival he proceeded directly to his father's tomb, where he ſpent the whole day in ſolemn prayers. He entered the fort at night through a road brilliantly illuminated.

On his return from this expedition, he brought a number of different ſorts of guns, and a large quantity of ſheet copper, of which he had ſtripped the domes of the Roman Catholic churches on the Malabar coaſt; with likewiſe 3000 of the captured Travancorians and the families of about 300 of the

Cochin

Cochin people, whom he had been cruel enough to ſeize, and after tying them in pairs, drove them into the ſea.

Tippoo now thought very ſeriouſly about new-modelling and muſtering his troops: that he placed no remarkable confidence in their loyalty and faith was evident from the precautions he took to prevent mutiny and revolt. He artfully put ſuch men together as were moſt likely never to join in any general diſaffection from mutual averſion and diſtruſt of each other; by which means all his corps were compoſed of different caſts, nations, and religions, that bore a natural antipathy, and ſometimes an avowed enmity, to each other: this might indeed, in ſome meaſure, remedy one evil, but ſowed the ſeeds of another; that of diſunion in their efforts, when it might be highly neceſſary that their joint exertions ſhould combine in

the accompliſhment of the ſame object. He augmented his *Chaylah* battalions from eight to thirty, obſerving the ſame mode with reſpect to embodying them, as with the regulars, which indeed may appear more reaſonable to ſuch as have no knowledge of the diſpoſition of his ſtanding army, a circumſtance which Tippoo is perfectly well acquainted with.

The artillery did not eſcape his notice; his arſenal was well ſupplied with warlike ſtores, and every preparation in his power was made for a war; the Engliſh priſoners were ordered into the fort again, and their capturer, at one of the reviews, obſerving amongſt the *Chaylahs* ſome priſoners that were ſhaved, he remarked to one of his courtiers: "Theſe men, I ſee, have "diſcovered a new Bible and creed at "laſt," meaning the Koran and Mahomedan doctrine. When he had inſpected

ſpected every thing in perſon, carried reform into every department, and provided againſt deficiencies and abuſes, he at laſt iſſued orders for a ſecond campaign, and took the field.

It was originally ſaid that he meant to go to the northward, and lead his army againſt the troops of Mouberjung and Captain Read's detachment, which had not been then joined by Perſuram Bhow, but the intelligence of General Meadows's approach to the Gauts, and the capture of Coimbatore, an event totally unexpected, produced a change in his determination. He immediately croſſed the Cavery, and fixed his camp to the ſouthward of Seringapatam. It was not, however, until they received the intelligence from an European taken priſoner at Caroor, where he had been ſtraggling whilſt intoxicated, and brought to Seringapatam, that the European priſoners heard for certain of

war having actually broke out betwixt Tippoo and the Engliſh.

Before he took the field a ſecond time, he ordered three Europeans, and a number of native priſoners, who had been in his father's and his own poſſeſſion a conſiderable time, among whom were ſeveral native officers, a Nayar rajah, and a commandant on the Bombay eſtabliſhment taken in Bedanore, to be ſent to Nundydroog and other hill forts, where I conjecture they have ſince been murdered, as that is the uſual fate of all thoſe who are doomed to theſe places. The farrier already mentioned, whoſe life had been ſpared in compliment to one of Tippoo's horſes, was of the number. He alſo ſent back from his camp an European corps in which he placed no confidence, being commanded by one *Maclean*, who had been a ſerjeant in his

his Majeſty's ſervice, but deſerted from the garriſon of Mangalore when it was under the command of Major Campbell.

This corps conſiſted of nothing but vagabonds and deſerters, chiefly Portugueſe, French, Dutch, and Danes. It had been diſarmed and diſgraced during Tippoo's firſt abſence, being ſuſpected, and very juſtly, I believe, of having encouraged and promiſed aid to the different *Chaylah* corps, who intended to rebel during the abſence of the army, and emancipate themſelves; the accompliſhment of which plan nothing could have prevented, had they not deliberated till it got vent, and were deprived of their arms and ſecured, as well as all who were ſuſpected of abetting and forwarding their project. Tippoo, it is true, had re-armed Maclean's

corps, but ſo humble was his opinion of their loyalty and bravery, that he judged it very unadviſeable to oppoſe them to the troops of an European power, ſo that they ſtill remained inactive at Seringapatam when I left it.

Tippoo is naturally of a ſuſpicious temper, which the knowledge of his being unpopular increaſes. The Europeans are peculiarly, and without exception, the objects as well of his deteſtation as diſtruſt, ſo much ſo, that I may ſafely aſſert, there is not at this moment a ſingle regiment in his ſervice commanded by an European officer, nor did he ever ſuffer Lally's army to multiply ſufficiently to be able to give him uneaſineſs. I do not think that Lally, at any one time ſince Hyder's death, has had more than between one and two thouſand men under his command, and thoſe were diſciplined

plined and paid by himſelf; he has had latterly very few Europeans, not more than 150 on a large computation.

It was in the beginning of September 1790 that Tippoo directed his ſteps towards the Gauts; but no ſooner had he publiſhed his intention of facing General Meadows, before an univerſal diſcontent and fear, which manifeſted itſelf in loud murmurs, pervaded all ranks at Seringapatam, and it was reported that the army was not better ſatisfied. Thoſe who remained in the city were far from repoſing that confidence in his army which the tyrant flattered himſelf they would, and could not diveſt themſelves of the apprehenſion of an Engliſh ſiege, with the conſequences of falling into the hands of an enemy that had ſuch ample and juſt cauſe for vengeance. The army again dreaded an attack in deſcending the Gauts, which they already con-

concluded were in General Meadows's poſſeſſion, and conſequently judged it impoſſible to eſcape a total defeat.

Tippoo received the firſt intelligence of Colonel Floyd's ſituation and ſtrength by two European deſerters from the grand army, and haſtened to intercept him, in the full perſuaſion of commencing this war with a ſecond Conjeveram buſineſs. That this depended much upon the criſis of that day cannot be denied, and that the bravery and exertions of the troops who reſiſted ſuch ſuperior force is as meritorious as it was important, will never be diſputed. The loſs which Tippoo ſuſtained in this attempt was induſtriouſly concealed, but it certainly was conſiderable, it being whiſpered at Seringapatam to exceed greatly in number the whole force that oppoſed it, notwithſtanding the exaggerated and diſcredited accounts which Tippoo tranſmitted of his

his boaſted victory. The earlieſt intelligence of the engagement was accompanied by the remains of five of Tippoo's principal officers, who had fallen in the action.

Nothing, I am well convinced, prevents many of his diſſatisfied ſubjects from deſerting at this preſent time, but the certain death or vaſſalage to which they would expoſe their wives and families, whom Tippoo always ſecures before he raiſes a perſon to any place or office of truſt, as hoſtages for his fidelity and good conduct.

Even the very favourable repreſentation of the rencounter with Colonel Floyd could not entirely baniſh the terror of a blockade from the Myſorean capital. Tippoo's obſtinate diſpoſition was no ſecret to his ſubjects, and the horrors of a ſiege, together with the exceſſes a large army confined to the limits of the iſland would commit,

pre-

preſented themſelves in lively colours to the citizens, ſome of whom had beheld the ſcene once before, not to revive their alarms, and threaten them with the proſpect of periſhing, if no otherwiſe, by famine.

The late progreſs of the army beyond the Gauts, &c. has, no doubt, in part realiſed the fears of the Myſoreans, whoſe ſituation muſt be diſtreſſing; and I ſhould not in the leaſt be aſtoniſhed, if the accumulation of their burdens and wants became (which cannot be very remote) ſo intolerably oppreſſive, that they poſitively refuſe to ſubmit to the tyrant, and ſurrender the capital. I am induced to form this conjecture from what I remarked when our forces were at a great diſtance, and when ſo many obſtacles and impediments might ſtill be thrown in their way Tippoo then frequently found it neceſſary to put ſuch perſons clandeſtinely

to

to death as ſhewed their diſſatisfaction and diſtruſt too openly, that they might not ſpread the contagion.

Tippoo had engaged Colonel Floyd with nearly the whole of his numerous and newly-recruited army; he had employed all his art and addreſs to magnify the advantages of a very fruitleſs and inglorious attempt; but when he diſcovered that the real ſtate of the affair was not to be diſguiſed, though few were hardy enough boldly to avow the truth, he ungenerouſly reſolved to avenge himſelf on the unfortunate priſoners for his miſcarriage, and hoped, by ſacrificing them, to appeaſe in ſome meaſure the friends of the ſlaughtered ſirdars. Purſuant to this reſolution, he ordered all the captives that were with the *Chaylahs*, beſides ſix of the moſt refractory tradeſmen, to be put in irons and conducted to the hills, preparatory, as was intimated to us by

our

our guards, to our being offered up as victims to the manes of the deceaſed.

Two days before this removal took place, I had hid myſelf in one of the cavaliers of the fort, terrified at the idea of viſiting the hill forts; but being much pinched by hunger, and reflecting that my abſence might accelerate whatever miſchief was deſtined for thoſe companions with whom I had been a fellow-ſufferer for ſo many years, I could not perſuade myſelf to abandon or expoſe them to additional danger merely on my own account, I therefore delivered myſelf up on the day we marched, determined to meet whatever fate awaited me. Nothing but the remorſe which I felt at entailing on the other captives the certain reſentment of a barbarian, whoſe implacable diſpoſition was well known, prevented me and many others, I believe, from trying with more eagerneſs than

than we had done to eſcape, hoping conſtantly that ſome fortunate moment, or unforeſeen change, would one day or other effect the releaſe of the whole of us at once; nor was it eaſy to reſiſt the earneſt prayers, entreaties, deſpondence, and ſometimes even threats of our wretched brethren in affliction, from whom it was difficult, and almoſt impracticable, to conceal any ſuch deſign; to this, in a great meaſure, may be attributed the very few deſertions that took place. Tippoo, without doubt, knew too well that nothing was more likely to ſecure his priſoners, than the anxiety they took for the ſafety of each other, a bond more binding than any fetters he could fix upon them. In the year 1787, five men beſides myſelf had actually reſolved to truſt our lives in a boat on the Coleroon, and let the current carry us where it would, though we had been in-

informed that a cataract on the route rendered this enterprize extremely hazardous; but we were certain it would carry us from Seringapatam, and nothing which could befal us afterwards appeared half ſo dreadful as remaining in ſlavery there. We had nearly conſtructed a baſket-boat for our purpoſe, made of bamboos, which we got ready ſplit from the *Dhomwallas*, or baſket-makers, and had ſecured leather to cover it with. An old uninhabited houſe ſerved to hide our materials and machine in; the ſplit bamboos were concealed under the thatched roof ſo as not to be immediately diſcovered by any perſon looking accidentally into the houſe. The boat itſelf was buried in a large hole in the ground. Two of us uſed to ſteal away for an hour or two in the night, and work by turns whenever we found it practicable. Is

came,

came, however, to the knowledge of the reſt, and alarmed them ſo much, that we yielded to their ſupplications, and abandoned the project, as it was impoſſible to build, or even procure, boats to convey the whole of us at one trip.

MYSORE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY
MYSORE

CHAP. IV.

Deſcription of Seringapatam—the priſoners leave that place and are ſent to Outradoog—after various difficulties they effect their eſcape—the author loſes his companions.

BEFORE I proceed farther, I will give the reader as accurate a deſcription of the capital as my information and capacity will admit.

The preſent capital of the kingdom of Myſore is ſituated on an iſland of the Cavery called Seringapatam, about four miles in length and nearly two in breadth; it has two bridges thrown over the Cavery, one to the northward, and the other in the oppoſite point; the former is defended by a ſtrong battery

tery mounting twenty-three guns, (ſix, eighteen, and twenty-four pounders) placed a very little to the eaſtward of the bridge, and a double battery mounting ſix guns in each row at the very foot of it; the latter is defended by a battery of ſeven iron twelve-pounders. There are alſo three fords in the river, the principal of which lies north-eaſt of the iſland, within half a mile of the northern extremity; another oppoſite to the north-eaſt corner of the fort, defended by thirteen guns, and planted on a cavalier which ſtands five or ſix paces in the rear of the battery guarding the ſouth bridge; and the third is near the center of the iſland, more than a mile below the fort. The fortreſs is a ſquare, the ſouth-eaſt ſide of which is beſt defended, having three cavaliers mounting four guns each on the outer-works, and two more of three guns each on the upper works, with three

redoubts of ſix or ſeven guns each, carried out on the glacis. The ſouth-weſt ſide, on the contrary, is the weakeſt part of the fort, as the river is very ſhallow at that place juſt oppoſite to the water gate and a pagoda which is built in the river. The north is defended by three cavaliers mounting four guns each, (twelve and nine-pounders) with ſix or ſeven flanking batteries, mounting each four nine-pounders. The twenty-three gun battery ſtands likewiſe on this ſide, and the ſouth ſide is defended by three other cavaliers mounting three ſix-pounders each, and ſeven more flanking batteries of three or four ſmall guns each, beſides fourteen guns over the great gate, one eight and the reſt ſix-pounders.

The fort has three principal gates, one north, the other ſouth-eaſt, and the third ſouth, beſides three water-gates, two to the northward, and one

to

to the ſouth-weſt, immediately oppoſite to the pagoda in the river. The north ditch runs out of the river, and joins it again below the ſeven-gun battery to the north-eaſt; there are two dry trenches to the ſouth-eaſt and the ſouth; the river is very deep from the bridge as far as the pagoda.

Tippoo has a granary in the fort at the end of the king of Myſore's palace, which contains all ſorts of grain produced in the country, conſiſting chiefly of rice and *raggy*, with *ghee*,* oil, ſugar, and ſpices of different kinds.

There are two gardens on the iſland full of large trees, one is ſurrounded by a mud wall, and called *Dowlat Durgah*, and the other is the burial place of the late Hyder Ally, and is called *Loll-Baug*, theſe, with two

* Butter made from buffaloe's milk.

avenues leading from the fort to the latter, contain the only trees that are to be found on the whole iſland. Tippoo cut down laſt year a foreſt of beetle-nut trees, which ſtood to the eaſtward of the ſouth bridge. Oppoſite to the fort, at the diſtance of about half a mile, ſtands another foreſt, where Tippoo is erecting a powder manufactory, with mills upon European principles, and where he has a foundry for caſting cannon, conſtructed by one of the mechanics lately arrived from France, all of whom, excepting the doctor and the ſurgeon, reſide at the place, which gave it the name of the French Colony.

About three quarters of a mile from the ſouth bridge, in the ſame direction, is a nullah, or branch of the Cavery, with a bridge thrown acroſs it, which leads to Myſore the ancient capital; the nullah riſes out of the river about

half a mile above the iſland, and runs in the ſame direction as the river till it joins it again a little below the fort, encompaſſing a long ſlip of land, and forming a ſecond iſland; a trench is carried quite acroſs the iſland of Seringapatam, but from the north avenue to the river it is covered, all the reſt is open with only one bridge over it. The country on the north ſide, cloſe to the river, is *paddy*, or rice land, interſected by a number of ſmall nullahs; from the ſouth bridge, as far as the extremity of the iſland, it is all the ſame; the reſt of the iſland is paſture land. A little to the eaſtward of the ſouth bridge is a conſiderable ſilk manufactory. The pettah of Seringapatam is near the center of the iſland, of a ſquare form, about half a mile broad, with very regular and commodious ſtreets at right angles.

Having thus given ſome idea of a place which will be better known after the preſent war, I ſhall proſecute my own adventures.

On the 22d of September 1790, I finally left Seringapatam. Tippoo had no ſooner marched us out of the fort, than we were divided into three parties and ſeparated. It is needleſs to ſay, that our parting was truly affecting; we took leave of one another, as for the laſt time, like men that were to undergo certain death, after ſpending ten years of ſorrow together, and endeared to each other by mutual ſufferings: the human heart, under ſuch circumſtances, is always moſt ſuſceptible of friendſhip. Each man received on this mournful occaſion, three ſeers of rice and three pice, which was the laſt ſubſiſtence I ever had from the tyrant.

At

At the time that we were taken out of the fort, twelve deſerters from Tellichery were brought in, but it is not in my power to give any farther account of them. During my impriſonment frequent deſertions from the garriſon occurred. Prior to my leaving the city, a Captain Bee and four Europeans, amongſt whom was another captain, whoſe name I have forgot, paſſed by the place; I ſpoke to them, and was informed, that they had been ſent for by Tippoo, but for what purpoſe they did not know: the whole made a very miſerable appearance.

One of our parties was detached the ſame day to Narandroog, the rock ſo fatal to Lieutenant Rutledge, which is not above fourteen miles to the northward of Seringapatam, but intercepted by a range of hills; one to Sundradroog, another high rock about ſixty miles north-eaſt of Seringapatam; and the

the laſt, to which I belonged, to Outradroog, alſo a very high and ſteep rock, nearly fifty miles north-eaſt of the capital.

I was five days on the road to this place, and when within a few miles of it, our guards, for what reaſon I cannot tell, were augmented to almoſt double their original number: they conducted us to the foot of the rock, where we entered a narrow and very ſteep path cut through a thick foreſt. We all ſuffered dreadfully in travelling bare-footed up this rough and difficult aſcent, being very much hurried, notwithſtanding the weight and incumbrance of our irons. There are two or three forts on this rock, one above the other, and at the ſummit is a kind of battery. Some Malabar iron guns joined with hoops, and two old Engliſh nine-pounders, (which afterwards proved the ſource of my deli-

very)

very) compoſed the whole artillery of the place.

Immediately on our arrival we were carried before the killadar, where we heard read the order which had accompanied us from Tippoo: it directed him "to guard us with vigilance and "ſtrictneſs until farther inſtructions, "to put us inſtantly in fetters, and to "allow us no proviſions;" which plainly indicated that it was not intended we ſhould live many days.

We were now in continual expectation of being dragged out to ſuffer a miſerable and cruel death; our exiſtence hung on the will of a tyrant who had already ſo often diſplayed his inſatiable thirſt for blood, and manifeſted his preſent deſign by prohibiting us our common food; we knew too well what fate awaited ſuch as were condemned to theſe rocks; we alſo were apprized, that if even our ſentence was by

by ſome accident ſuſpended for a ſhort period, the moment the tyrant met the ſmalleſt check in the field, the fatal blow would be ſtruck. He had often declared, that none of the European priſoners ſhould be ſaved, for ſooner than part with them he would murder them.

Hope had never forſaken me, during the whole ten years of my captivity; I conſtantly flattered myſelf with an opportunity to eſcape to an Engliſh ſettlement; but, at this juncture, I could not avoid yielding to deſpair, as no poſſibility of extricating myſelf from the preſent danger and confinement appeared. Had we even been unfettered we could not have got away, as the only communication with the rock was guarded by a line of ſentries, and to ſurvive long under ſuch circumſtances was folly to expect, as famine, if nothing elſe, muſt put a period to our lives.

lives. We had, however, reſolved to periſh our own way the moment any violence ſhould be offered us, and alſo to watch for an occaſion to attempt an eſcape, ſhould it be even that of attacking our guards when they came to examine our priſon; we thought we might ſafely venture on any ſtep, let it be ever ſo deſperate, as nothing could be riſked by a failure of ſucceſs, our lives being already forfeited: this reſolution enabled us to wait the iſſue of our fate with ſome compoſure.

Gratitude will not allow me in this place to withhold the juſt acknowledgements due from every one of us to Tippoo's Hindoo ſubjects; they conſtantly commiſerated the ſituation of the unfortunate European priſoners, and ſaved the lives of many by their timely humanity and aſſiſtance, when the unfeeling conqueror denied us food. The *Kemeries*, or natives of that country,

try, (it is to be underſtood, that I do not mean ſuch as are actually in the ſervice of the ſultan, or ſuch as have been corrupted by him, neither ſuch as are intimidated from following the bent of their inclinations, by being under his immediate inſpection and influence) of whom I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak again in the courſe of my travels after abſconding from Outradroog, are a very quiet, inoffenſive, and humane race of men, many of whom do not even know the name of their ruler, or have the leaſt idea of the deſpotiſm they live under, being too remote from the immediate object of tyranny, and too much attached to peace and indolence, to be inquiſitive about who receives the revenues of the country, or who diſſipates them, conceiving the whole duty of their lives compriſed in tilling their grounds, paying their taxes, and adoring their cows. This is the harm-

harmleſs and benevolent ſet of people who are the objects of Tippoo's perſecution, whom he labours to convert to Mahometiſm, and whom he can only render unhappy if he ever effects his cruel purpoſe.

We had now been ſupported nearly five weeks almoſt entirely by the charity of the inhabitants of Outradroog, except ſometimes our miſery created the pity of our very guards, though accuſtomed to behold diſtreſs with indifference, and perpetrate murder at a ſingle nod. We began to wonder why our execution was ſo long delayed, when, by a moſt ſingular ſtroke of good fortune, it entered into the killadar's head to have his old and ruſty artillery repaired before his European priſoners were ſent out of the world. I happened to be the perſon appointed, and being inſtructed to ſurvey his guns,

to

to report what they wanted, and to iſſue directions for putting them in ſerviceable order, he ſuffered me to be conducted to the different parts of the rock where theſe uſeleſs cannon were planted. It cannot be ſuſpected that I refuſed my aid, when it is remembered, that this was the only opportunity I ſhould have of reconnoitering the rock. I was accordingly laviſh in my promiſes, and the credulous killadar ſeemed highly pleaſed with the idea of having his cannon put in complete repair. I did not fail to avail myſelf of this occaſion, minutely to examine our gaol as well as the foreſt below, and the country ſurrounding it, obſerving only as much precaution as was neceſſary not to betray my deſign, or alarm the ſuſpicions of my guards. The different ſituations of the killadar's guns, which obliged me to go all round

round the rock, proved peculiarly uſeful, and enabled me to make the utmoſt advantage of my time.

When I returned to my companions I faithfully related every thing, and informed them that I had ſeen a road by which we might deſcend the rock undiſcovered. It was immediately agreed that we ſhould, without loſing time, make the attempt, and ſo great was our joy in conſequence of my propoſal when it was firſt ſtarted, that we entirely forgot we were under cloſe confinement and very ſtrictly watched, and ſuppoſing this difficulty ſurmounted, that there was great probability of our being detected before we could clear the fort, that our irons embarraſſed us, that we had half a mile to walk on the rock, a high precipice to throw ourſelves over, a thick foreſt abounding with wild beaſts to ruſh into at the foot of the rock, and, above all, that

we had to elude five or ſix guards, which would oblige us to penetrate deep into the wood, and often to creep on all fours: but theſe obſtacles preſented themſelves very obviouſly as ſoon as the ardour of our fancy had a little abated; yet we determined to make an effort, although a difficulty occurred which had nearly overthrown the whole, I mean that of agreeing about the moſt eligible method of carrying our plan into execution; this diſpute ſimply aroſe from the complacency with which every individual regarded his own opinion, which he infallibly conſidered the wiſeſt and beſt, and conſequently propoſed it for adoption. After a long diſcuſſion and much conſultation, the only poſſible expedient was at laſt fixed on, and we came to a reſolution of breaching the mud wall of our priſon, and getting out in the night.

The

The only neceſſary precaution was ſilence. The nights on which we found the guards engaged in gambling, or other amuſements, were therefore aſſigned for our operations, to the accompliſhment of which, an old knife being the only inſtrument we had, the work of courſe required time and great patience: we had not proceeded many nights with digging and watching by turns, before we found this tool inſufficient for the purpoſe, the wall being uncommonly thick. We then thought of another way of effecting it, by conſtantly pouring water in the hole to moiſten the earth till ſoft enough to be dug out. This ſcheme promiſed better ſucceſs, and was leſs expoſed to diſcovery.

We employed twenty days in undermining and ſapping the wall, during which time we communicated our intention to ſeven of our companions

who were confined in an adjoining room, and with whom we were permitted to converſe during the day, and they accordingly commenced in like manner. As we had little to do all this time, we turned our thoughts towards liberating our legs; in this we likewiſe partly ſucceeded, by means of a penknife which one of the priſoners had hid in an old mat when we were ſearched on coming to this place; the large knife had been ſecretly given to us by one of the Carnatic people who was employed in coining pice at Outradroog. We heated the ſmall knife till it became red hot, then cut notches in it with the large one, and having converted it to a little ſaw, we worked inceſſantly when unobſerved, until we had cut quite through the rivets of one leg, which by that means could be diſengaged, and both the iron rings drawn on the other; by muffling the chains with

with old rags we could alſo prevent any clattering or noiſe.

We had reſolved, in caſe of a diſcovery, to attack our guards before they had time to ſecure us, and either to fight our way out of the place, or fall in the attempt, as all would be over with us if a diſcovery happened. We had for this purpoſe ſelected the largeſt and ſtouteſt ſticks of the wood, which now and then, with the killadar's permiſſion, had been brought to us to cook (when we had any) our rice. The whole garriſon, at this time, did not exceed ſixty or ſeventy men, and we thought it much more adviſeable, in caſe of a detection, to let it come to ſuch an iſſue, than tamely to ſubmit to a certain death in a much more diſgraceful manner. A dozen deſperate men fighting for their lives have before performed extraordinary feats. Several native priſoners were,

beſides, confined in the fort, amongſt whom were ſome Travancorians, a ſubadar, and a jemmadar, &c. Theſe people had one day caught us with our irons off, and might have betrayed every thing, if one of our priſoners had not fortunately ſeen them in the ſame ſituation a day or two before, having liberty to viſit each other during the day, as all the priſons were contiguous; we took care to remind them of this circumſtance, and mutual intereſt, I believe, preſerved the ſecret. It looked, however, as if the guards began to ſuſpect us the laſt two or three days, for they examined our fetters very particularly; but we had luckily procured out of the bazar a piece of lead, through one of our companions who ſet up for a doctor, and was ſuffered to preſcribe for the garriſon. With the lead we filled the holes of the rivets ſo exactly, as to render the

deception diſcernible only to a very nice ſcrutiny. Our doctor was of ſingular ſervice in more than one inſtance, and was the means of preſerving our lives frequently by what he earned by preſcribing to the ſimple Outradroogans, who had taken a great liking to his harmleſs phyſic. Two days before we eſcaped, he received a whole ſheep from a polygar, who was on his way with 500 of his dependants to join Tippoo, for having adminiſtered a doſe to him of common country ſpirits, which put him in the fineſt humour in the world.

The 27th of November was fixed upon for our grand attempt, and on that evening every thing was in readineſs for our purpoſe. As ſoon as it was dark we began to remove the earth, but to our great mortification we found ourſelves at midnight below the ſurface of the ground; this cha-

grined and alarmed us much; but reflecting that ſomething was neceſſary to be done immediately, we began by concealing the earth we had dug out in earthen pots, and hung a large blanket before the hole when day appeared. It was clear, that we ſhould not long be able to hide the ſituation of the wall, I therefore worked all the next day, ſupplied the place inceſſantly with water, and kept wet cloths in it to moiſten the upper part, where the breach was to be enlarged or raiſed. My companions kept ſinging and making a noiſe all day, that the buſtle I made might not be heard. Every thing was a ſecond time ready by night on the 28th, and having found the breach practicable, we gave notice to our companions in the next room, who joined us before eleven o'clock. The guards had lately indulged us with keeping the priſon door open till near eight, but

but this evening we feigned ſleepineſs, and they too were fortunately engaged in gambling. The firſt ſtep we took was to diſengage one of our legs, and to muffle and faſten the irons on the other. We then tied our rags about us, and provided ourſelves, each man, with a couple of *raggy* cakes, which had been laid up for the occaſion.--- Being the perſon that was to guide the reſt, I crept out of the breach juſt at twelve o'clock, with the large knife in one hand and a ſtout ſtick in the other. It was ſoon found that the hole was not large enough to admit ſome of my companions, I was therefore obliged, though at a very great hazard, to go to work on the outſide to enlarge it with my only tool the knife; in a very ſhort time, however, I opened it enough for the largeſt amongſt us. As ſoon as the whole had got through, we aſſembled with all poſſible ſilence, and

I, ac-

I, according to agreement, conducted the party over the mud wall that ſurrounded the area of the priſons, which was between ſeven and eight feet high on the inſide, but much lower on the outer on account of the riſing of the rock. There was another wall, called the Fort Wall, about 150 paces farther on, which entirely encompaſſed the top of the rock, and between theſe two walls was a guard placed over ſome native priſoners, which we could not avoid paſſing very near. A ſlight ſhower, which fell juſt at this criſis, proved therefore extremely favourable; the rain drove the ſentinels under cover, and we plainly ſaw them ſitting ſmoaking round a fire in the verandah of the priſon in great ſecurity. The ſhower continued till we had ſafely cleared the outer wall, near which there was another guard, but not directly in our courſe; we now proceeded to the precipice

cipice which I had not been able to examine with ſufficient preciſeneſs to determine either the exact height or nature of, but as I had undertaken to conduct my companions down the rock, I propoſed to deſcend firſt; accordingly I threw myſelf upon my hands, and in this manner meeting no reſiſtance or any reſt for my feet, unable to recover myſelf, I ſlid down the rock greatly terrified at the rapidity of my fall, as I found the precipice higher than I imagined, or than it had appeared from the top of the rock; I was relieved at laſt by catching hold of the branches of a ſmall tree which grew near the bottom, and broke my fall, by bringing myſelf up againſt the trunk of it. I had unfortunately, it ſeems, gone to the ſteepeſt part of the precipice. Shortly after I was joined by my companions, who had followed my example, and ſaved themſelves by the

the ſhrubbery and ſmall trees which covered the entire bottom of the precipice. It was near one o'clock at this time, and the moon, as we expected, began to ſhine, having calculated that we ſhould be clear of the guard by the time of her riſing, which was very àpropos.

I have before mentioned we were twelve in number, eleven Engliſhmen and a Frenchman, who had incurred Tippoo's diſpleaſure. We immediately directed our way towards the thick foreſt that environed the foot of the rock. I ſuffered extremely in traverſing a thicket before I reached the wood, both from the ſharpneſs of the prickles and thorns, and the ruggedneſs of the rock, being obliged to creep on all fours. By the time I was half through it, I was alarmed by the challenge of a ſentry, whom I could not ſee, nor do I think it poſſible he could have ſeen

me,

me, being buried amongſt the buſhes. It was probably the ruſtling amongſt the leaves which attracted his attention, and he was undoubtedly more frightened than myſelf, tygers being very common in this part of the country. I made, however, a full ſtop, and turned immediately farther to the eaſtward, (or up the rock) having attended particularly, when reconnoitring, to that part of it where no guards or ſentries were poſted, continuing in the manner deſcribed, by a very ſlow deſcent, to move round the rock by a ſouth face, where I had ſlipt down to the oppoſite point, when I ſtruck into the wood where the rock was not ſo ſteep, and the guards all cleared.

It had been determined, that we ſhould follow a northerly direction, in hopes of reaching the Nizam's dominions, but I miſſed my comrades the moment I had entered the thicket, and never

heard

heard of them afterwards. About two o'clock I had diſengaged myſelf from the thicket, but the circumſtance of miſſing all the reſt of the party gave me much uneaſineſs, and naturally produced various conjectures, nor could I any other way account for ſo ſtrange a ſeparation, than by ſuppoſing that they had purpoſely deſerted me, fearing, perhaps, that I might prove an incumbrance to them the reſt of the journey, being in a very weak ſtate of body from a fever which had aſſailed me a few days before; I thought they might, for this reaſon, have judged it adviſeable to get rid of me, although they had ſhewn more conſideration for my quota of the cakes, which they took along with them, wiſely concluding that I ſhould very ſoon have no occaſion for them. Ungrateful as this procedure may appear, I rather hoped it might be the cauſe of our ſeparation

paration than that any miſchief had befallen them, for I no ſooner reached the country below, before I heard the ſound of trumpets and *tom toms*,* which I conceived to be an alarm in the fort on miſſing us, and no doubt ſearch was immediately made. I much feared, that in ſpite of the cautions I had given them, they might have deſcended through the thicket in too ſtrait a line, which would either bring them direct upon ſome of the out-poſts I had warned them of, or throw them in the way of their purſuers. The loſs of my poor cakes gave me, I confeſs, great concern, as I was extremely feeble, and very uncertain of ſoon meeting with any food; but reflecting that Providence alone could ſave me, and that it behoved me to make every perſonal exertion in my

* Indian drums.

power

power before I gave up all for loſt, I continued my courſe on the plain which bounded the foreſt in a northerly direction. I can never be ſufficiently thankful for a very extraordinary and fortunate circumſtance, viz. that the fever, which had regularly viſited me for ſome time before, never returned after this day, though the anxiety and pain to which the laſt twenty-four hours had expoſed me could not be favourable to convaleſcence.

When I had advanced about five miles on the plain, I ſtumbled ſuddenly on a mud fort, which I never diſcovered until challenged by a ſentry on the walls. I judged it moſt prudent to return no anſwer, and taking a circuit round it, I continued my courſe without farther interruption till day-break, when I found myſelf within twenty paces of two of Hyder's troopers, who were cooking their victuals

tuals on the bank of a tank; it was too late to ſhun them, I therefore reſolved to march boldly on, hoping to paſs unnoticed as one of the country people, for which reaſon I wrapped myſelf up in my blanket, and paſſed them near enough to overhear their converſation: they were juſt deliberating who I might be; one ſaid, "There goes certainly "an European;" the other repeated, "You fool, from whence ſhould an "European come here; don't you ſee "it is a woman?" at that inſtant my irons happened accidentally to rattle, which decided the conteſt, and confirmed the laſt opinion, the noiſe being taken for the ſound of thoſe bangles, or braſs ornamental rings, which the women of India wear round their arms and legs; I was, in conſequence of this circumſtance, ſuffered to paſs without being interrupted, though not with-

out having felt great anxiety for the ticklifhneſs of my ſituation.

I walked on a couple of miles farther after this adventure to a wood, which I reached about ſun riſe, and immediately found a ſpot pretty well covered, where I laid down to reſt for the day, judging it imprudent to travel but in the night. I had not lain down long before I grew quite ſtiff, and felt a pain in my bones; examining the leg that my irons were faſtened on, I found, that conſtant rubbing againſt it had made a deep hole, which now gave me great uneaſineſs, though whilſt agitated and warm with walking I had not perceived it. I now diſcovered, that unleſs I could diſengage myſelf from the irons, it would be vain to think of proceeding, as, independent of what I ſuffered from them, my feet were extremely ſore from traverſing the

ſharp-

ſharp-pointed ſtones of the rock. Fortunately the large knife had remained with me, with this I fell to work, and happily, before night ſet in, had totally removed the fetters. I felt my ſpirits much exhilarated from this circumſtance, and ſeemed quite refreſhed, though I eat nothing the whole day. Intent on purſuing my journey, I mounted a hill near me, from whence I reconnoitered the country for many miles round, and gained a tolerable idea of the direction proper to follow, in order to avoid plains as much as poſſible. It was ſun-ſet when I reſumed my courſe, and, after paſſing the wood, I had, unavoidably, a large plain to croſs, on which I had obſerved a mud fort and cattle grazing, but notwithſtanding which I reached about midnight a range of hills that run between Bangalore and Seringapatam in an eaſterly direction, and which

I had taken notice of before dark. I halted here, having to aſcend the hills which were very rough and over-ſpread with thickets, that rendered the paſſage undiſcernible in the dark. Four days did I wander amongſt theſe huge mountains and craggy hills, without meeting with any food, or even a drop of water, though I had been leſs cautious with reſpect to the time of travelling, finding no traces at all of human beings. I felt myſelf ſo very weak and reduced at laſt, that unleſs the next day brought me relief I muſt periſh, and therefore reſolved to make one deſperate effort, the following day, for clearing the hills. I laid down to reſt with this reſolution, and fell aſleep notwithſtanding the gnawing hunger that promiſed ſpeedily to put me beyond pain altogether,

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

He is in danger of periſhing by hunger, and is relieved by an Hindoo woman —eſcapes from two tygers—is ſeized by a party of Tippoo's polygars, from whom he eſcapes—is received by a detachment of the Mahratta forces, protected by Captain Reid and the Engliſh troops—arrives at Fort William —concluding obſervations.

NEXT morning, which was the 4th of December, I roſe with very miſerable proſpects, but tottering along, I was fortunate enough, almoſt immediately, to diſcern a hamlet of a few huts amongſt the hills! This unexpected ſight gave me new animation, knowing very well that I was in no

danger from people with whoſe charitable diſpoſitions I was well acquainted, and who ſeemed as dropt from Heaven for my ſuccour; underſtanding, beſides, the *Kennary* language, I had it in my power to paſs for any body I pleaſed, and ſhould they even diſcover who I was, there was no room for apprehending they would hurt me; ſuch is the humanity and peaceable temper of theſe harmleſs villagers. It may ſeem incredible to ſome, that I ſhould have exiſted five days without food, and four without a drop of water, under ſuch bodily fatigue and anxiety of mind, but to my very reduced ſtate do I attribute my ſurviving it; let it alſo be remembered, that I had been pretty well inured to hunger during my long captivity, where our allowance was ſo frequently ſtopped, and where we often remained one, two, three, four, and five days, without any food whatſoever; nay,

nay, I well recollect, that during my cloſe confinement in conſequence of Lieutenant Rutledge's affair, I was near ſeven days without eating.

I approached the hamlet, and from the firſt perſon I met, which was an old woman, demanded ſome charity to ſave me from ſtarving. She entered into converſation with me, and the ſound of our voices inſtantly brought ſeveral other women out of the huts, who perceiving how weak and emaciated I was, expreſſed great compaſſion for me, and each went and brought me ſome of her homely fare, conſiſting of boiled *raggy* and gram water made into a *curry*, which proved the moſt welcome and ſavoury repaſt I ever made. I paſſed myſelf upon theſe kind old women for a *Rajepoot*, knowing few or none of that caſt were to be found in this part of the country. The few men that belonged to the hamlet being all em-

ployed in the field, the women and children only remained at home, though I ſhould have been equally ſafe had the men been preſent. When I had told them that I was returning to my own country, they pitied the painful and ſore condition of my feet, and immediately brought ſome warm water, with which they bathed them. When I left theſe compaſſionate and benevolent creatures, they furniſhed me with a couple of *raggy* cakes, being all the prepared proviſions the hamlet could produce after I had ſatisfied my hunger, and ſeemed to be much concerned for my ſafety. One of them pointed to a road which they warned me againſt following, ſaying, that it led directly to one of thoſe polygar forts with which the country abounds; a piece of information which I received with pleaſure, as it was the very route, till better inſtructed, which I had determined to take.

take. I left my charitable benefactreſſes with a heart overflowing with gratitude and many melancholy reflections. Their hoſpitable treatment reconciled me ſo much to life and the company of mankind, that I could not avoid deploring the little probability which exiſted of my ever joining my countrymen. I ruſhed into the wood, and took a great ſweep to avoid the polygar fort and ſuch as might belong to it, knowing well how widely they differed, in point of meekneſs and humanity, from the ſimple and good-natured *Kennarees*, the recollection of whom afforded me ſufficient ſubject of contemplation for the remainder of the day.

The following morning I was fortunate enough to fall in with a parcel of trees bearing a berry much reſembling in colour, ſhape, and ſize, our ſlows; knowing this fruit to be very

wholeſome, I devoured as many as I was able to eat on the ſpot, and afterwards gathered as many more as I could carry away, being determined to reſerve the cakes which I had received from the hoſpitable *Kennarees* for a laſt reſource.

I continued to travel in a northerly direction, as much as poſſible amongſt the woods, until the eighth in the evening, when coming to a plain which I muſt unavoidably paſs, I all at once perceived, to my unſpeakable terror, two tygers not above 100 paces from me, coming right acroſs the plain: it was the firſt time in my life that I had ever ſeen theſe animals alive: I ſaw them approach without loſing my preſence of mind, but they ſeemed not to notice me until the inſtant they were oppoſite to me, when, to my great ſatisfaction, they turned away with their tails between their legs, and in a long trot

trot diſappeared. It will eaſily be believed that I was in no hurry to follow or overtake them, but ſuffered them to get entirely out of ſight before I proceeded. I am, however, from this adventure, led to give ſome credit to the reported puſillanimity of the tyger, who, it is ſaid, will ſeldom attack a perſon unleſs by ſurprize, or a ſudden leap, like that of a cat at a mouſe, which he will not reſume if he miſſes his aim; and I cannot avoid believing, (as it flatters my vanity) that theſe two were actually afraid of me, which, could I convey the appearance I made at the time in an exact drawing, might produce leſs wonder.

About an hour after this rencounter I fell in with a troop of polygars returning from hunting, and I truly confeſs their appearance alarmed me much more than that of the tygers, being the danger I moſt of all apprehend-

ed,

ed, and from what followed it will appear that my fears were not groundleſs. They inſtantly took me priſoner, and carried me to a mud fort, to the weſtward of the foreſt; it was not quite dark when we reached it, and I had juſt time to notice a large *tank* behind it, which immediately ſtruck me as the ſecureſt road to follow ſhould I be fortunate enough to give my new captors the ſlip. They conducted me into the fort, and took me immediately before the chief, or commander of their own party, who addreſſed me firſt in the *Kennary* language, which pretending not to underſtand, he aſked me in *Moors*, where I came from, and who I was; I replied, that I was a *Rajepoot* diſabled in Tippoo's ſervice, and now returning to my own country; he deſired me to produce my paſs or diſcharge, which I told him I had loſt on the road. During this interrogation, I per-

I perceived that the by-ſtanders eyed me very attentively, and caſting my eyes down, I ſaw a hole in my blanket through which my ſkin appeared, the colour of which did not correſpond with my face, which I had rendered pretty dark by waſhing it with tobacco water, the only remedy I had for the wounds which the briars and thorns daily beſtowed on my naked feet.* I overheard their conjectures, although not ſuſpected of underſtanding them, which, after ſome altercation in the *Kennary* language, terminated in what was actually the fact, *i. e.* that I could be no other than ſome European deſerted from the *Chaylahs*. The chief

* Briſtow was naturally of a ſwarthy complexion, which had not been improved during twenty years reſidence in this country, particularly the latter part of that time, when, as a captive, he was expoſed continually to the effects of the climate.

then

then commanded them to ſecure me in the center of the fort, which had three different gates, one within another, being ſurrounded with a triple wall. I now perceived that I was not only diſcovered, but had fallen into the hand of people who were, by their diſcourſe, adherents to Tippoo. My new lord told me in *Moors* to make myſelf eaſy, and that I ſhould be well fed and not hurt; but his conſolation adminiſtered little comfort to my mind, and I began to ſhudder at the thoughts of returning once more to the clutches of the barbarian. I was left in charge of one ſentry until the killadar's determination with reſpect to me could be obtained, and had the ſatisfaction to hear my ſentinel receive orders not to bind me before the commander had been conſulted. It was evident, that all hopes of eſcaping the impending danger, and of avoiding a ſecond viſit

to

to Seringapatam, depended upon the exertions and ſucceſs of the moment. I therefore reſolved to make the attempt, and the moment the crowd (who followed the Polygar to the killadar's houſe, on purpoſe to have the earlieſt intimation of my fate, with as much eagerneſs as if their whole welfare depended on knowing it) was diſperſed, I vehemently complained of thirſt, and implored the ſentry to bring me a draught of water. I was in reality very weak when taken up by theſe people, and on their ſeizing me I pretended to be much more ſo; this circumſtance, and my poor appearance deceived the ſentry ſo eaſily, that he never dreamt, I ſuppoſe, of my attempting to walk off, and therefore without any ſuſpicion of my deſign, he went for the water. The inſtant he was out of ſight, not loſing one ſecond

ſecond in reflection, I wrapped myſelf carefully up in my blanket, and ſtrutted boldly out of the fort, paſſing all the three gates without any interruption or ſuſpicion, the paſſages being crowded with people and cattle returning from the fields. I did not haſten my pace till I had got to the diſtance of about fifty yards from the outer gate, when turning to the right, I croſſed a *Paddy* field with all the expedition I could muſter, and then waded through the tank which I had taken notice of on coming into the fort. When I had croſſed the tank, I ventured to look behind me, and perceiving a great number of lights moving backwards and forwards, which I concluded to be the Polygars in ſearch of me, and fearing ſome one of them might go round the tank without a light, and thus come unexpectedly upon me, I ſet forward with all the ſpeed I could in a weſterly

weſterly direction for about an hour, when, finding I was not purſued, I turned again to the north, and travelled for three ſucceſſive nights over an open country, being obliged during the day to hide myſelf in caverns and holes. In the mean time I found myſelf under the neceſſity to break upon my cakes, though I knew not when I might meet with another ſupply; I truſted, however, that the ſame Providence which had hitherto ſupported me would not withdraw its aſſiſtance when it ſhould be no longer in my own power to make perſonal exertions. I was, at any rate, reconciled to my fate, and had made up my mind to whatever my deſtiny might have prepared for me, being always indifferent to every thing except that of being carried back to Tippoo.

I continued, notwithſtanding the exceſſive fatigue attending that mode of

travelling, to wade through innumerable tanks and water-courſes which flowed from the hills that I was now approaching; I preferred this mode, troubleſome as it was, to that of walking round the banks and borders, that I might not fall in with Polygars, or other hoſtile people inhabiting the villages which in general are met with in India where there is a piece of water, not knowing of what diſpoſitions or caſts the natives of theſe parts might be, and having, ever ſince my laſt adventure, dreaded nothing ſo much as any animal in a human ſhape.

The fourth morning, which was the 12th of December, I fell in with ſome ſtraggling rocks here and there covered with thickets, and being very tired, and exceedingly hungry, having conſumed my cakes, notwithſtanding the ſparing applications I had made to them, I ſeated myſelf in a thicket, and,

over-

overpowered with hunger and fatigue, dropped to ſleep. After a reſt of ſome hours I woke, and though exceſſively weak I thought myſ f refreſhed by the nap, and conſequently moved two or three miles farther, when, to my inexpreſſible joy, I again diſcovered ſome of thoſe berries which had formerly relieved me. I inſtantly ſtripped every tree, by firſt ſatisfying my hunger, and then loading my blanket with the reſidue, which engaged me for the remainder of the day. With this laſt ſupply I continued to travel until the 15th at day-break, when, to my great terror, I found that I had got amongſt a number of villages upon a large plain, with a mud fort lying immediately in front of me. I already ſaw the people quitting the fort to follow their occupations in the fields, and found that it would be impoſſible to avoid them. To give as little ſuſpicion, therefore, as

poſſible, I reſolved to meet them boldly, hoping by that means to paſs for a traveller unworthy of notice. I had hitherto, whenever forced in the night to traverſe plains, obſerved the precaution of ſtriking out of the way the inſtant I found myſelf on ploughed ground, or diſcovered any indication of inhabitants; but this time I had met with no tokens to warn me before the day brought to view the ſcene I have related.

I was not ſuffered to proceeed far, before a party of Polygars ſtopt and examined me. Having already, from the converſation of the people who had paſſed, diſcovered that one of Tippoo's regular battalions garriſoned the fort, I conceived it would be impoſſible to paſs for an Indian amongſt men compoſed of all the different caſts and nations of India; I therefore, without any ſeeming heſitation, ſharply replied

plied in Moors, that I came from the Engliſh camp, and was proceeding to *Gootie*. They aſked, what carried me thither? — I anſwered, ſome of my companions and friends captured with General Matthews laſt war, had taken ſervice with the ſultan, and had written me to join them, giving a very favourable account of their ſituation. *Gootie* was the only place on Tippoo's frontiers which I had ever heard of, and knowing it to be contiguous to the Nizam's territories, which was the road I propoſed taking, I concluded it ſafeſt to name this place. They ſuffered me not, however, as I had wiſhed, to proceed, but carried me into the fort, and brought me before the killadar, where I underwent a ſecond examination in the preſence of the Polygars, but took care to repeat exactly the ſame ſtory. The killadar put many queſtions reſpecting

the Carnatic to me, at the ſame time informing me that he was a native of that country, and was always happy to hear from his home. As I was very unable to give him ſatisfactory anſwers on this head, I thought it beſt to ſay, that I had only ſix months before arrived from Bengal, and was a ſtranger on this coaſt, but that ſuch parts of the Carnatic as I had travelled through appeared in a high ſtate of cultivation. He inquired about the ſtrength of our army; I anſwered, in general terms, that it was very numerous, and exceeded the utmoſt it ever had been during the laſt war. He aſked, how I came to be ſo miſerably reduced and naked, ſaying, it was not cuſtomary for Europeans to travel without clothes. I replied, that I had only brought four rupees out of the Carnatic with me, which were long ago expended, as I had not expected the journey would be

ſo

ſo tedious, ſince which time I had ſubſiſted by begging; and with reſpect to my clothes, I had been obliged to throw them away, finding it unſafe to travel as an European, and that, if I had been re-taken, nothing would have ſaved my life, being a deſerter, but that my preſent diſguiſe had afforded me protection. He ſeemed to credit this aſſertion, and having ordered me ſome victuals went away. In about an hour he returned to interrogate me afreſh, and tried, I plainly diſcovered, if I would contradict any thing I had ſaid, and by way of ſounding me thoroughly, told me the Mahrattas had lately plundered the country all round, and that they then were encamped with a very ſtrong force only ſeven or eight coſs off, and adviſed me to take ſervice with him. I anſwered, that ſince I had encountered ſo many hardſhips in order to

meet my friends, I would by no means relinquiſh the attempt, or enter into ſervice with any other power, but proceed directly to *Gootie*, if he would ſuffer me to continue my journey. To this at laſt, to my unſpeakable ſatisfaction, he conſented, and to impreſs him with greater confidence and faith in my ſincerity, I requeſted permiſſion to remain that night in the fort, and that he would be pleaſed to inſtruct me what road to take to avoid the Mahrattas.

Next morning, which was the 16th, I ſet out from the fort, provided with two large *jarra* * cakes, ſome *chatney*,† and a guide, who had the killadar's orders to ſhew me the way. The moment I was reſtored to liberty again, my joy was ſo great that I ſcarcely could credit my own ſenſes,

* A kind of flower. † A pickle.

and

and for ſome minutes thought myſelf under the illuſion of a dream. It was certainly a wonderful eſcape, to get away from one of Tippoo's own forts when I had ſo little chance of making my own ſtory probable: it was undoubtedly a very fortunate circumſtance for me that the killadar proved a good-natured, ſimple man; the natives of the Carnatic are in high eſteem with Tippoo, and many of thoſe that were taken laſt war enjoy diſtinguiſhed poſts under his government; the *deroga*, or chief of the treaſury at Seringapatam, for example, is one of them.

The guide I had been provided with ſoon grew tired of his charge, and diſplayed no reluctance at being permitted to leave me. I did not long continue the ſame road after he was gone, but immediately took the old northerly direction, and travelled with all poſſible expedition upon the ſcanty ſubſiſtence

of my cakes, and ſuch berries as I could pick up, until the 23d at night, when coming into ſome very high and broken ground, I was diſcovered by the ſentry on the walls of a mud fort, who challenged me. I had perceived lights on my firſt getting into the broken ground, which I ſtrove to avoid by inclining to the left, and as I was moving off, I ſuddenly ſaw two lighted torches held up, and at that inſtant the ſentry challenged me; this made me conjecture I was perceived, particularly as more lights immediately afterwards iſſued from a watch-houſe that was at the bottom of the rock on which the fort ſtood, and diſperſed. Fearing therefore that I might be ſurrounded, I turned about and made for a wood in the rear, which I reached in ſafety, and walked for three miles to the weſtward until I came to another

rock,

rock, which was nearly at the dawn of day; from this place I had a full view of the laſt-mentioned fort, and finding a tolerable ſecure cave, I laid down to ſleep. About three o'clock in the afternoon I was diſturbed by the bleating of ſheep, and looking through a crevice in the rock I ſaw men at work in felling timber; I remained quiet till ſun-ſet, when riſing to take a view of the country, I heard a ſtrange noiſe, and looking towards the place whence it aroſe, I beheld, to my utter aſtoniſhment, a bear very buſy in preparing a den under the very clift where I repoſed.

The moment I was able to determine what road to take I deſcended the hill, much dejected for want of food: I travelled all night, only halting occaſionally from extreme weakneſs, and the pain of my ſore and ſwelled feet: in the morning I had

the

the good fortune to reach a village, which lately, perhaps the day before, had been plundered by the Mahrattas; here I picked up, among the deſerted ruins, about half a ſeer of rice, and nearly as much *raggy*, a few chillies, a little tobacco, an old earthen pot, and a ſtrong bamboo walking ſtick, which proved of ſingular ſervice to me afterwards as a ſupporter. I ſat down and devoured ſome of the rice, which I ſoaked in water, without cooking it; after this ſeaſonable meal I purſued my journey, and before I had gone far I diſcovered a *Jarra* field, and thought the opportunity of laying in a ſupply of proviſions not to be neglected, I therefore ſpent the remainder of the day in plucking off the heads of the grain, and rubbing them between my hands.

I found that I was much weaker at this period than I had imagined, being obliged,

obliged, at very ſhort intervals, to have recourſe to reſt, and with all my endeavours was unable to travel above five or ſix miles in the courſe of four and twenty hours. Notwithſtanding the daily accumulation of my diſtreſſes, my ſpirits never entirely forſook me, but the impoſſibility of holding out much longer was now too evident, having ſo conſiderably added to the very reduced ſtate of my ſtrength ſince I left Outradroog; reſolved, however, to exert myſelf to the laſt, and ſtrain every nerve, I continued to ſaunter on, ſometimes among woods and broken rocks, and ſometimes over plains, until the 27th, when I came to the banks of a ſmall nullah, which had nearly terminated my ſufferings with my life. The attempt of croſſing it ſo effectually exhauſted my ſmall remains of ſtrength before I could reach

reach the oppoſite ſide, that I ſhould inevitably have periſhed, if I had not fortunately caught hold of ſome bull-ruſhes which grew in the water on the ſide of the nullah. In this ſtruggle for life I loſt my earthen pot, my tobacco, and all the proviſions I had left; beſides I was ſo much fatigued and expended when I had climbed up the bank, that I laid myſelf down on the graſs with very little hopes of being able to proceed. A few hours ſleep, however, refreſhed me a little, and reſolution lent me new ſtrength; in ſhort, I made ſhift to combat hunger and fatigue until the 1ſt of January. This hilly country was ſo extremely barren and inhoſpitable, that a few wild berries compoſed the whole of what I exiſted upon during the laſt five days. Without experiencing the horrors of hunger, anxiety

xiety bordering on deſpair, and great bodily pain, it cannot be conceived what I ſuffered and felt.

On New Year's Day I had got within ſight of the termination of the long range of hills, at the foot of which I had ſo long been travelling; but juſt as I began to entertain ſome faint hopes of being at laſt within the reach of relief, a new and apparently inſurmountable obſtacle preſented itſelf to my dejected eyes, as a bar to all future proſpects of being rewarded for my late ſufferings.

The Tangbaudar River, which runs in an eaſterly direction, at the diſtance of ſeven or eight coſs to the ſouthward of Gopaul, being the limits of the above-mentioned range of hills, now lay immediately before me. No human probability of gaining the oppoſite ſhore appeared, as no boats were in ſight, and feebleneſs had ſo totally diſ-

abled

abled me, that ſwimming was not to be thought of. In this dreadful perplexity I looked eagerly around, in order, if poſſible, to diſtinguiſh ſome piece of wood, or branch of a tree that would help to bear me up through the ſtream; but in vain. Without allowing, however, diſtreſs and deſpair to conquer all my hopes, I moved ſlowly and ſullenly along the banks of the river, and, after ſome time, I ſpied a ferry-boat; my heart now expanded with joy, and I fancied nothing remained but to ſtep into the boat and be rowed over; but, as ill fate would have it, the ferry-man, to my unſpeakable diſappointment, would not even ſuffer me to approach his boat. I feared, by too haſtily ſoliciting a paſſage, (for I was unequal to force) to hazard a diſcovery; the conſequence of which I dreaded more than death itſelf. Obliged to ſubmit to my deſtiny, I

went

went back reſolved to proceed in an eaſterly direction along the banks of the river, until I ſhould meet either with a ford, or ſome other mode of croſſing, or, what ſeemed much the moſt probable, with a termination to my miſeries by death.

After proceeding as before mentioned, on caſting my eyes to the oppoſite ſide, I ſaw two large forts at ſome diſtance, and heard at the ſame time the diſcharge of cannon, whence I concluded the forts to be beſieged either by us or ſome of our allies. This increaſed my anxiety to croſs the river, and redoubling my efforts, I continued travelling until the next day about three o'clock in the afternoon, when, perceiving a guard, I halted. I afterwards diſcovered that this was a Mahratta guard ſtationed between the river and the extremity of the hills as a ſcout; but uncertainty and fear at this time

determined me to avoid it, in conſe-quence of which I was obliged to take a circuit, and croſs the extremity of the hills. I reached the foot of them about ſun-ſet, and found them covered with verdure, perceiving no covert or ſhelter for wild beaſts in the neigh-bourhood, I lay down leſs dejected indeed than might be expected, and ſlept till morning; at day-break I be-gan to aſcend the hill, and had not advanced far before I met an old wo-man watching her cows, who gave me a *raggy* cake, and adviſed me to keep well to the left, if I wiſhed to avoid another guard poſted on the other ſide of the hills. My better deſtiny cer-tainly directed my ſteps to this good-natured old woman, nor was this the firſt time ſince my captivity that I was indebted for my life to the aged part of the ſex, my good genius of late had abſolutely never appeared to me but in

the

the ſhape of an old woman; the laſt pointed out the moſt traverſable part of the rock, and on the fourth day I reached the oppoſite plain, where the adjacent fields ſupplied me with ſome grain, which preſerved me from periſhing, and enabled me to purſue my courſe once more towards the river, the ſtream of which I continued to follow four days longer, but with ſo little effect, from the exceſſive reduced ſtate of my ſtrength, that I only advanced ſeven miles in all that time. On the fourth day I found myſelf near a mud fort, which I had not previouſly obſerved, and was ſuddenly ſurrounded by a number of Mahrattas, and taken up and carried before the Nalputty rajah who was proprietor of this fort. The rajah was then engaged in making preparations for taking the field in the morning, and had therefore no time to attend to me, but

directed that I ſhould be retained in the fort, and taken care of until he ſhould return.

During his abſence I gradually recovered part of my former health and vigour; it was ſoon diſcovered that I was an European, and the rajah's ſon, a humane young man, who was left to command the fort in his father's abſence, was extremely kind to me. A native doctor was ordered to heal my wounded and excoriated feet, and abundance of proviſions were given me, though I did not venture fully to indulge my appetite from the weak ſtate of my ſtomach. I had recruited my health and ſtrength pretty well by the 12th of February, when the rajah returned, and I was next day taken before him. Having learnt ſince my arrival that he was one of thoſe Mahratta rajahs whom Tippoo had diſpoſſeſſed in 1785

and

and 1786, but who had availed himſelf of the approach of our troops in 1790, (Bowberjung, the tributary, whom Tippoo had placed in the rajahſhip, having retired) to recover his ancient territory and right, and that he conſequently was no partiſan of the Myſore ſultan, I frankly anſwered his interrogatories by a plain confeſſion of the ſimple truth. He ſeemed much affected at my narrative, pitied my ſufferings, gave me a piece of cloth, of which I ſtood in extreme need, having no covering to my nakedneſs but the blanket I had brought out of Outradroog, and invited me to enter into his ſervice. I concluded, that the ſureſt way of obtaining the liberty which I now panted after, (finding myſelf ſufficiently ſtrong to face new fatigues) would be to aſſent to the rajah's requeſt. I therefore readily accepted his offer; in conſequence of which I was imme-

diately releaſed, and deſired to demand whatever I wanted; I returned very ſubmiſſive thanks for the rajah's promiſes of preferment, and affected to be much ſatisfied with my ſituation. That night and next day I walked about at pleaſure, and had already inſpired the people of the fort with ſo much confidence, that nobody ſeemed to notice my departure, between the hours of nine and ten, on the 14th at night, when I proceeded directly towards the river, which at this place was about 200 yards broad, but in general narrower, but ſo bold had my recovered ſtrength rendered me, that I plunged in and ſwam over immediately, though I had been informed of a ford a couple of miles farther to the eaſtward.

The poſſeſſion of the Nalputty rajah is called Comlipore, and the fort is remarkable for having a high rock in front of the entrance, with a white pagoda

goda at the top that entirely commands it; it lies about four and twenty miles ſouth-eaſt of Gopaul.

I had diſcovered from the people in the fort, that Gopaul was the place I had diſtinguiſhed at my firſt approaching the river, conſequently I directed my courſe towards it the moment I croſſed, and walked without intermiſſion or interruption until about eleven o'clock the next day; I then halted to take ſome refreſhment, being in the center of ſeveral villages; and provided with four pice in money, being the produce of my allowance of rice from the rajah's granary, received the day before I left the fort, which I immediately carried into the pettah, and ſold it that I might not travel pennyleſs.—About three o'clock in the afternoon I ſet out again, and got near Gopaul half an hour after dark, when ſome of the Nizam's people, after hearing my

tale, picked me up, and ſent me on an elephant to Mouberjung's camp, where I was ſomewhat aſtoniſhed to find myſelf confined under a guard; but reflecting that I was in the hands of an ally, that Engliſh troops were preſent, and that any miſtake with reſpect to me would ſpeedily be cleared up, I lay down to ſleep pretty eaſy in mind. Next day, being the 16th, I was early in the morning taken before the bukſhy, who put a number of queſtions to me, all which I anſwered by deſiring to be conveyed to the Engliſh commander. A guard immediately was ſent along with me to his encampment, but being abſent on the batteries himſelf, I had to remain whilſt his orders could be received, an object of curioſity to the troops, to whom I was repreſented as a Frenchman, ſent by Tippoo to ſuccour the fort, and taken up by ſome of the Nizam's people

in

in the attempt. Some hours had elapſed, and my ſituation began to grow irkſome, and the ſpectators troubleſome, though no violence was offered to me, when fortunately Lieutenant Engliſh returning from duty on the batteries, beheld the crowd, and having inquired into the cauſe of it, carried me from the Nizam's guard to Captain Dalrymple's marquee. I related my hiſtory, together with the particulars of my eſcape, to this gentleman, who congratulated me on my fortunate delivery, ordered me what refreſhments I wanted, and preſented me with ſome rupees; he likewiſe gave me a coat, a hat, and ſome linen. Thus I found myſelf once more, after ten years of cruel captivity, apparelled like an European, amongſt men of honour, and reſtored to liberty.

Next day Captain Reid, who commanded the Engliſh detachment, or-